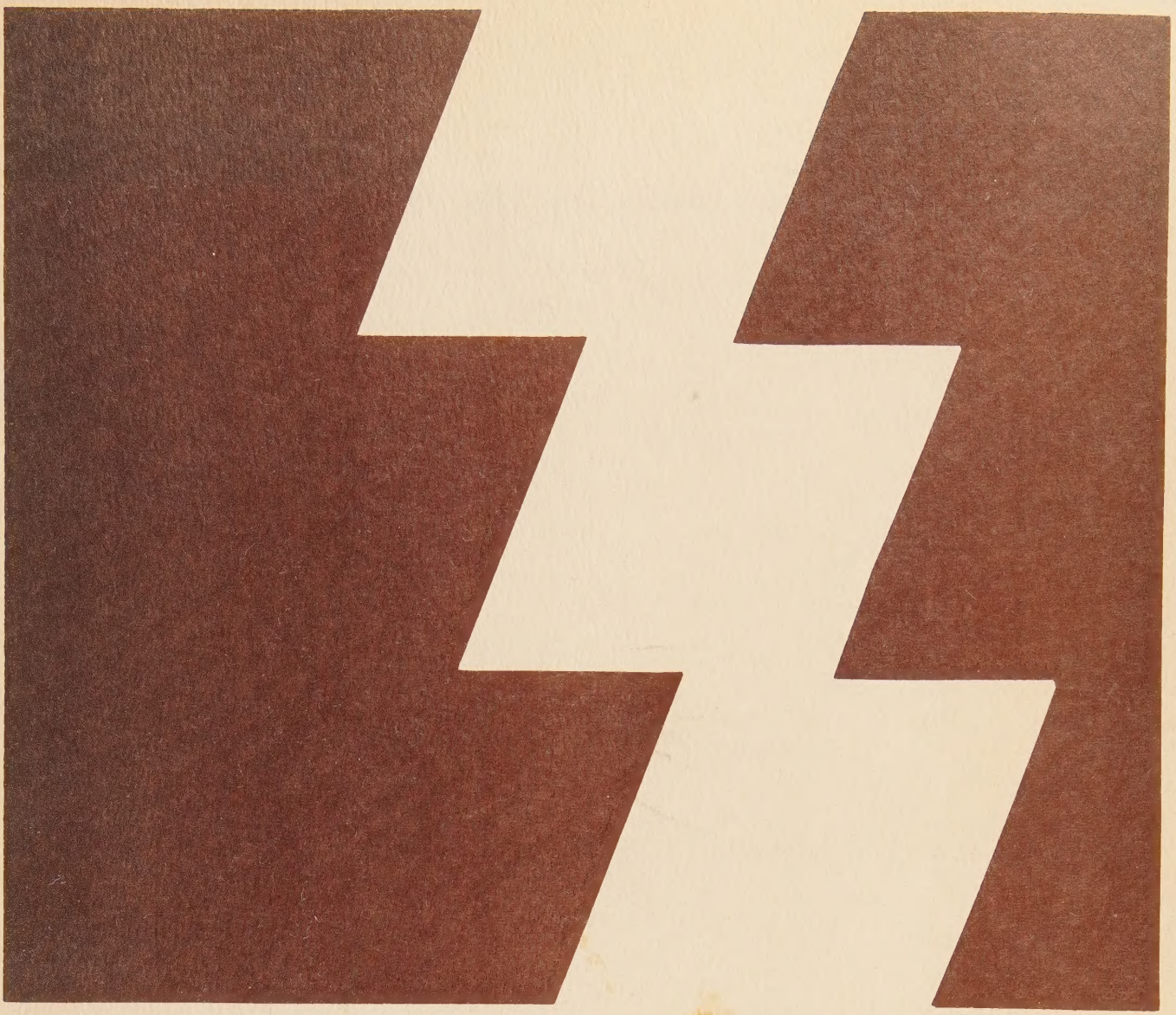

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RELIGION AND REBELLION

Urban Crisis Monitor

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Publisher's Letter

RELIGION AND REBELLION
Pages 20-58

This week's issue contains two special sections, both of which examine conflict, confrontation and change. The first section, on the subject of religion, looks at some of the challenges now being presented to the churches. The second section, on the subject of rebellion, looks thoughtfully at the challenges now being presented to us all.

It is no surprise that the "top religion story of 1969" was the Black Manifesto (p. 21), the demand by James Forman and the National Black Economic Development Conference that the churches and synagogues pay $3 billion in reparations for past injustices to black Americans. Although the Manifesto seems to have had little effect so far on Catholic and Jewish groups, it seems to have prodded many Protestant sects into undertaking new and expanded black development programs. For them, the major question has become not whether to give money but to which black organization to give it.

Churchmen and church hierarchies, both black (p. 30) and white (p. 24) are also continuing their attempts to define the role of religion in solving social problems. Almost nowhere has the traditional church been so directly confronted with social demands as when the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican militant group, temporarily took over the First Spanish Methodist Church in New York's Spanish Harlem last month. This issue contains two accounts of the takeover: a pro-Young Lords story from Liberation New Service (p. 31) and a National Council of Churches interview with Yoruba, Minister of Information for the Young Lords (p. 34).

The Young Lords are part of a nationwide youth revolt, the causes and meaning of which are probed in thoughtful articles by anthropologist Margaret Mead (p. 46) and by Dr. Stanley H. King, Harvard University Research Director (p. 41). The section on rebellion also contains discussions of the current revolt among college students (p. 52), revolutionary groups (p. 54), and black liberation groups (p. 49).

All predict more rebellion lies ahead. This is necessary, says Margaret Mead, who believes that we need the young to "give us the way to reshape our thinking." Dr. King agrees, concluding that the young will confront "the world with new solutions to social and political problems we have not yet foreseen."

John Marshall

Publisher

Education

ATLANTA, GA.
January 4

The Atlanta Board of Education, facing immediate problems of desegregation, has elected its first black President. Dr. Benjamin Mays, 74-year-old, retired President of Morehouse College, was elected to the top post by the ten-member board; significantly, only three of whom are black.

CINCINNATI, OHIO
January 5

For the first time in Cincinnati's history, a black man has been named to head the Board of Education. He is Calvin H. Conliffe, an engineering executive at General Electric Company. Mr. Conliffe will fill that post for a one-year term.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
January 6

Merger agreement has been reached between the Association of Classroom Teachers – Los Angeles (affiliate of the National Education Association) and the local AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers. If ratified by the members, the merger will be effective February 1. Major provisions of the merger agreement call for preserving affiliation both with the AFL-CIO and the NEA. Both national organizations have cooperated with the merger and have agreed, in effect, to subsidize their new, merged Los Angeles affiliate if it loses any members because of the merger.

This is the second merger of local affiliates of the NEA and AFT, the other being in Flint, Michigan. The Flint case involved some 1,800 teachers, while the Los Angeles merger will bring over 22,000 teachers into one organizational unit.

George Fischer, president of the national NEA, stated "there can no longer be any doubt that one day soon all teachers in America will have one organizational voice." David Seldin, national president of the AFT, said Los Angeles is a "pilot project" which he hopes will lead to a merger of the NEA and the AFT nationally.

MILWAUKEE, WISC.
January 7

A new high school, called Milwaukee Independent School, will open February 2 for approximately 25 students. The school is a result of student efforts to develop what they call "a living high school which can answer their needs for life in the seventies."

The school was conceived, designed, and developed by high school students as an alternative to existing educational practices. Regular class periods and school days will be eliminated and replaced by independent study and involvement in community work. A major part of the student's education will take place within the community rather than within a building.

The school is supported by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee's School of Education, and one of its professors, Paul Krueger, has resigned his post at the college to become the school's full-time coordinator. A board of directors composed of five adults and four students, all elected by students, will determine policy for running the school.

OAKLAND, CALIF.
January 7

Oakland's Board of Education has adopted a liberalized income scale program whereby more school children will receive free or reduced-price lunches. A majority of the members voted to use newly allocated state funds to make free lunches available to families whose income is similar to that which determines eligibility for food stamps. For example, the previous program gave lunches to children from a family of three with a $215 monthly income or less. The maximum allowable for the same family is now to be set at $325. For a family of ten the old scale set a maximum of $460 a month. The new maximum will be $690.

CRYSTAL CITY, TEXAS
January 10

Following a month of school boycotts and street demonstrations, school officials in Crystal City have agreed to treat the town's 2,540 Mexican-American students equally with their 375 Anglo-American students. Until now, the school board and county government has been under the sole control of Anglo-Americans who have endorsed practices of racial discrimination. Such practices have included keeping Mexican-American students from being selected as cheerleaders, class representatives, and other school activities.

The issue came to a head when a Mexican-American girl challenged the method of selecting the homecoming queen (the queen had to be a daughter of a graduate of the high school, which eliminated most Mexican-Americans whose parents had dropped out of school.) To challenge these policies in general, and the election of a queen in particular, Mexican-American students boycotted classes and engaged in street demonstrations. Federal investigators were sent in after two students went to Washington and pleaded their case before several Senators. Under the threat that the school system might lose $300,000 in Federal aid because of the student boycott, the school board finally capitulated and ratified an agreement to abolish many of the "ethnic inequalities."

TUCSON, ARIZ.
January 10

Six persons, including University of Arizona Student Body President Mark Ginsberg, were arrested on charges of rioting at the Arizona-Brigham Young basketball game. Police are looking for three other persons, among them Gale Dean, President

Government Structure

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
January 1

Unigov, Indianapolis' new form of government, became official on January 1. Unigov expands the city limits to encompass most of Marion County, swelling its population from approximately 500,000 to 800,000. Legislatively the new system calls for the nine-man Indianapolis city council to merge with the five-man Marion county council. These 14 members will sit through 1970 with jurisdiction over all ordinances and appropriations. In 1971, voters will elect a 29-member city-county council.

Indianapolis' administrative bodies are also changed under Unigov. The new plan calls for consolidations of some 40 departments with overlapping functions into six. These six include administration, public works, transportation, metropolitan development, parks and recreation, and public safety.

CHICAGO, ILL.
January 3

The 1965 apportionment plan for Illinois' Congressional Districts was declared unconstitutional. A three-judge Federal panel ruled that recent decisions of the Supreme Court regarding limits of population deviation between districts showed the Illinois plan to exceed the limits permitted. However, it also ruled that 1970 Congressional elections could be conducted under the current plan, and instructed the Illinois Legislature to present a constitutionally valid plan of reapportionment before July 1, 1971.

DENVER, COLO.
January 7

The effects of "uncontrolled urbanization" of Colorado's Front Range Region are studied in a report issued by that state's planning office. The 30-page study concerns itself with the region of Fort Collins on the north to the Pueblo area on the south. Topics covered with general recommendations for action by the state legislature include: reorganization of government, educational programs, and increased research.

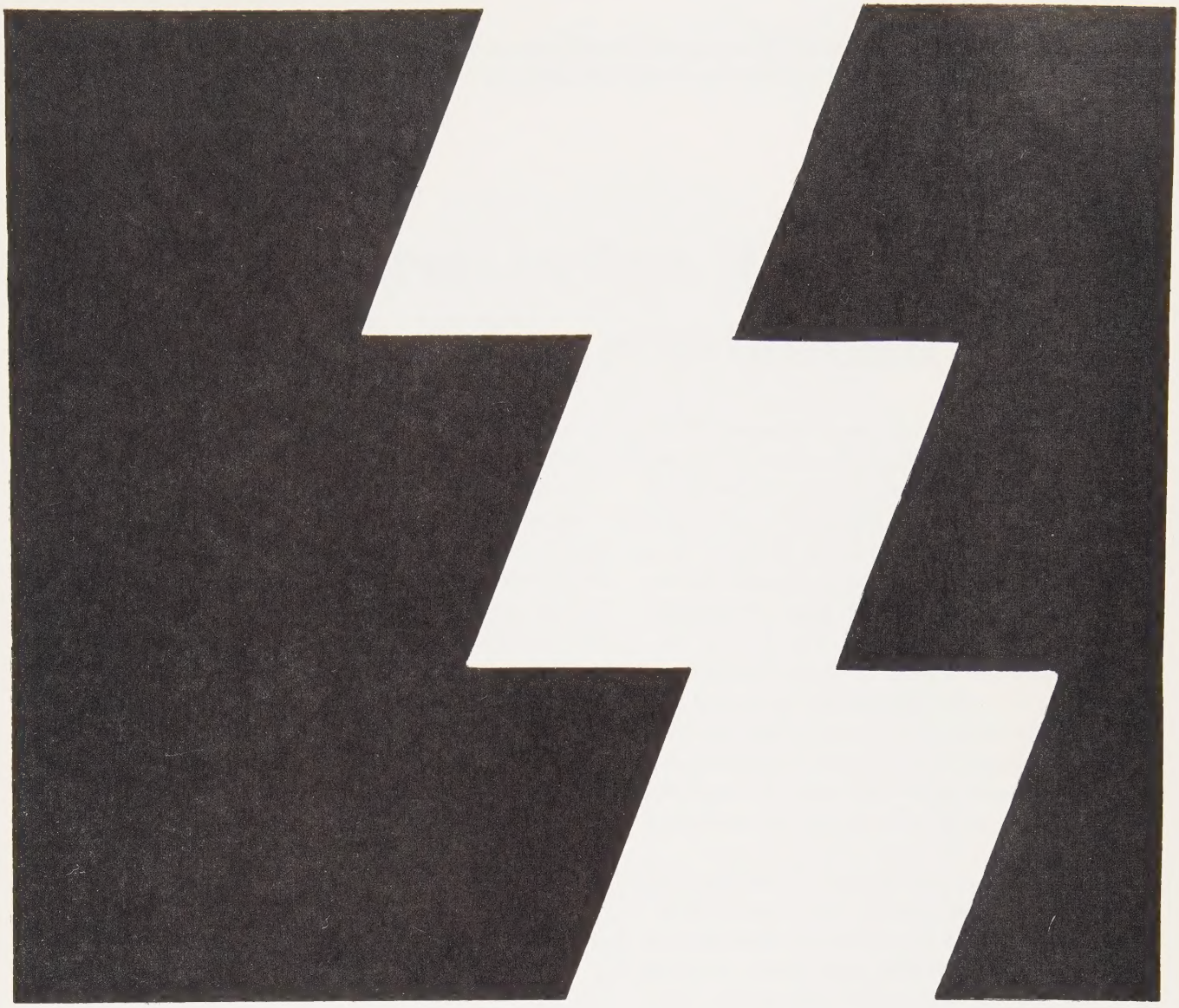
Governor John Love, in a cover-letter of the report addressed to the state legislators, said "This document is an important first step in identification and exploration of what, to me, is one of Colorado's most urgent problems. . . It is my hope that I can introduce such legislation into the next legislature that would facilitate the incorporation of the proposals made in this report as the beginning of a solution."

NEW YORK, N.Y.
January 7

Two new organizations got under way as efforts to counter growing threats of disruption to society from community disputes. The two organizations – the Board of Mediation for Community Disputes and the Center for Conflict Resolution – have the full backing of Mayor John Lindsay, and are expected to be helpful in bringing peaceful bargaining techniques to community disputes. The Board of Mediation is designed specifically "to aid negotiations in substantial disputes between groups or organizations affecting the welfare of New Yorkers." It is to be headed by Ronald W. Haughton, a Detroit mediator/educator. The Center hopes to provide "training in negotiating and mediation for community, labor, and management leaders," and has George Nicolau, former City Commissioner of Community Development, as its head.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.
January 8

A special bi-partisan House committee has agreed on a plan of supervising Arizona's general elections and reapportioning its legislative and congressional districts. The plan calls for the creation of an independent State Elections Board with power to reapportion every ten years, or as often as census data becomes available. If approved by the majority of both party caucases, the bill will be sent on to the Senate.



What the Black Press is Saying

True black control of their own communities will become a reality when black leaders pass on their knowledge and understanding of political philosophies and concepts to their own people, says this author.

Self- Determination Can Become Self-Extermination

by Ralph Metcalfe, Jr.

Our struggle for Freedom, Equality, and Justice, the natural rights due to all human beings, began in 1619, when we were brought to these shores against our will. As we developed as a people we learned from past mistakes, and both our strategy and our goals have changed with the passage of time. The goal of integration is now dead. Today most concerned Afro-Americans are more concerned with our right to self-determination than with begging the white man to accept us as equals within his system.

We must be clear as to what self-determination actually means, President Nixon has advocated the right of self-determination for "South Viet Nam" and so-called "Biafra." His purpose is clear. Both of these "countries" have been established with the aid of western capital. By playing on the greed of small segments of the populations of both Vietnam and Nigeria, the United States hopes to put men in power who would contribue their natural resources to America's scheme to economically dominate the entire world.

from the Chicago Courier, January 10, 1970

Indeed, if we set ourselves up as a nation with this same purpose, Nixon would advocate "self-determination" for us. Here in America, fascism is practiced in the name of anti-fascism. Domination is often called "self determination." We must not fall prey to America's trickery. We must understand the meaning, not just the words of any statement that comes from the White House.

In order for us to achieve true self-determination we must have a great deal of knowledge. Our leaders must understand capitalism, communism, socialism, international political economy, and mass psychology. They must then pass their understanding along to the people in language which we can understand.

The administration is moving now to establish so-called "black control of black communities." The measure would be extremely detrimental to us as a people. The blacks in control of our communities would control them to the benefit of the white power structure. True control must come from within our communities rather than from outside.

A recent Race Relations Information Report concludes that racial strife now centers around the struggle for power sought by both the black and white communities.

Power Now Big Issue in Racial Conflict

Nashville, Tennessee—Racial conflict in the South is less violent and less visible than it was a few years ago, but it still exists, and an examination of recent strife in two Southern towns reveals more contrasts than similarities with the past.

That is the gist of a report issued today by the Race Relations Information Center, a private agency which prepares journalistic studies of various aspects of race relations in the United States.

The RRIC report on protracted racial strife in Forrest City, Ark., and Somerville, Tenn., shows that both communities are in majority-black communities where per-income is low and an agricultural economy still predominates. Negro protests in both places have taken the form of boycotts, and the philosophy of nonviolence has characterized the picketing, marches and demonstrations, as was true during the height of the civil rights movement in the South earlier in this decade. White resistance to the protests also bears some resemblance to the past, being marked on occasion by violence in both communities.

But the conflicts differ from those of earlier years in several important respects, the report says, and it cites these examples:

—The issues are different. Before, they centered on the law; now, they appear to be concentrated on white attitudes and on the distribution of power in the community. Treatment by police and the courts, the use of courtesy titles, employment opportunities and representation in appointive and elective offices are matters referred to by black protesters.

—Major civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—to name just two—have not entered into the disputes, and neither, in any major way, have other groups and individuals, such as clergymen and college students. The conflicts have been primarily between local forces. The one notable exception has been the involvement of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations' in Somerville.

—Official state reaction has been characterized by neutrality in Tennessee and by personal intervention in Arkansas. In contrast to resistance led by Gov. Orval Faubus in Arkansas 12 years ago, the current governor, Winthrop Rockefeller, has tried to mediate the present crisis. His efforts have met with some success on statewide issues involving race, but have not had much effect in Forrest City.

—Press coverage of the two conflicts has been largely limited to newspapers in Little Rock, Memphis and Nashville. Except for a few stories in New York and Washington papers, there has been no national coverage.

The report suggests several possible reasons why current civil rights disputes in places like Somerville and Forrest City no longer attract the attention of national civil rights organizations and the press. Among the reasons given are the decline and dispersion of organized civil rights activity; the shift of protest activities to other parts of the country, the dominance of the war in Vietnam as an issue, the passage of civil rights laws, the decline of nonviolence as a tactic and of integration as a goal among many organizations, the decline of overt violence against Negroes in the South; and the decline of federal government involvement in civil rights disputes.

The report concludes that skirmishes in the rural South, though they attract little attention outside their immediate area, are potentially as serious as in the past. The adversaries, the report says, are "a white community accustomed by history and tradition to a position of privilege and superiority over Negroes, and a black community stirred by the advancement of blacks elsewhere and by the promises of equality engraved in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence." A white resident in Forrest City is quoted as saying,

"Only a fundamental change in attitudes will solve this town's problems. I'm afraid there will be bloodshed, and right now, I fear violence from whites more than from blacks."

The report calls the white minority and the black majority in the troubled counties "the immovable object" and the irresistible force," and says both are "small but desperate forces,

from Houston Forward Times, January 3, 1970

Having lost all faith in white America, the author says that the decade of the 70's will unalterably decide whether America is the land of dreams or the land of nightmares.

The 70s': Decade of Decision

by Booker Griffin

The decade of the '70s will be the decade of decision for America, the decade in which the majority of Americans must decide to honor the creeds they preach and to make America American or reveal themselves and this nation as a glorified fraud.

Griffin

The twists and strains on the power and resources of this nation, its attitudes and institutions have reached the Cinderella hour and we will eventually see a coach with wistful prancing horses or pumpkins and mice.

We are at a point now and a period of decisive impact is upon us. The ultimate answers will forever temper the American dream or the American nightmare, whichever one it should be.

Begins to Wonder

You may say that you know that what will unfold will be a beautiful and fruitful dream.

I hope so. Yet, given the paganism, ignorance, selfishness, greed and inhumanity of white America, I begin to wonder.

Following Birmingham and at the height of the "civil rights" compulsions and obsessions that white America so insensitively and self righteously indulged in the mid '60s, I made a very hopeful speech once. I had one view of the '60s then; I have another reality today.

I said before a large all-white audience in the San Fernando Valley: "By its dominant voices, its most unforgettable faces and its chief acts of bravery does a generation recognize itself and history mark it.

"For America, this period is surely the era of the Negro passion. The most moving voices are now those of Negroes; the most searing, lasting words are put on paper by Negro writers; our music is the American music most penetrating and persuasive to other parts of the world; no cause is now so fundamental to the health and integrity of this society as the Negro cause; of no leaders are so much stamina and courage demanded as are now required of Negro leaders.

"We are bound to win, somehow, not only because we have succeeded in involving you all, whoever you are, wherever you live within the nation's frontiers.

"We have caught the attention of the whole American people and, more than that, we have caught up the conscience of the whole people, however many of you may try to deny this to yourselves. A newspaper or television picture of a snarling police dog set upon a human being is recorded in the permanent photo-electric file of every human brain.

No Appeasement

"Current America is not likely to find appeasement from the Negro passion; our source springs and the resistance to it are too deeply grounded for easy resolution and our present outburst too long delayed. The more violent manifestations are not going to be confined to the Deep South.

"The black steam building up in places like New York, Washington, Chicago and, indeed, right here in Los An-

from The Los Angeles Sentinel, January 3, 1970

geles is finding too few outlets and too small outlets, at the present rate, for the permanent avoidance of combustion."

This was said before the August Revolt often referred to in white bastard terminology as the "Watts Riot."

"Because this unfolding drama involves the automatic reflexes of the instinctive sense of justice, because it involves namable, bearable, countable individual persons of flesh and blood, it is going to dwarf the general and social pageants of this domestic era, whether they be the struggles to rationalize the inchoate megalopolis (h u p e r-city), to preserve the open spaces, to eradicate a disease, to 'conquer' space, or whatever.

Time Is Coming

"The time is coming, soon, when the Negro passion will truly dominate American politics. It is going to change the prism through which we consider the problems of far-off nations; romanticism will have to give way to realism. Liberalism of the academic or cafe society brand—the motivations of those who rhapsodize the Peace Corpsmen in Ethiopia or journey 6,000 miles to sit at the feet of Dr. Schweitzer, but who would never dream of visiting the night police court in their own city and observing the tragedy of the American Negro—such impulses are going to lose their present status in the hierarchy of the virtues. There will be a noticeable dearth of hiding places for those professing belief either in religion or in the American Constitution.

" . . . Those who are cynical and upset by the moral duality in the Negro phenomenon, by the spectacle of lofty courage and self-sacrifice among the Negro leaders, side by side with the spectacle of spreading crime and squalor among the slumbound masses of the Negro poor, may learn that the first is a direct reflection of the second, its natural, not its unnatural, partner. Desperation, like war, ennobles some among its victims and debases others. No true people's revolution was ever neat, clean or devoid of sad anomalies.

"If the Negro passion of today is not a true people's revolution, it is as close to one as white America has ever known in this land."

Faith No More

This speech was made several years ago. Note I was still using the word "Negro," something that I seldom, if ever, do today. That period of my life, as was true of many black Americans, was inflated with high hopes and lofty aspirations for our freedom, justice and equality.

I still clung to my belief in the decency, dignity and moral terpitude of my white fellow American.

I no longer have that faith in white America. When the shallow, nebulous concepts of the civil rights movement gave way to the more crucial and direct American demands of the black movement, when the challenge to America's false values and untruth got down to the nitty gritty in the later '60s, I found that my idealism and my faith were fool's gold.

America to me is another reality and another scheme of things now, demanding a new tact and perilous danger in the '70s.

According to the author, the new decade will be marked by blacks re-evaluating their leadership, increasing their understanding that with power comes responsibility, and building organizations that can effectively win their battles.

Beginning of New Decade

by Dan Aldridge

THIS IS THE BEGINNING of a new decade. However, much more than that, there is evidence which suggests that 1970 marks the beginning of a new stage of the black liberation movement.

Many of the earlier developments in the black liberation movement have reaped their maximum amount of benefits.

The period of the charismatic leader has seemingly come to a close. Cries of "Black Power" without the program to make Black Power a reality have revealed their emptiness. Slogans have had their day and they have proved themselves unable to solve the problems that confront black people.

The time for name calling is hopefully over. Calling white people names and cursing middle-aged black people for not immediately picking up arms have also revealed themselves unable to solve the problems of black people.

ALDRIDGE

Further, very few people are waiting for the messiah. There was a stage in our development in which everyone was sitting around waiting for another Garvey or another Malcolm X to appear on the scene and lead us to freedom.

There is still some of this sentiment in our people and far too many of us are waiting for the messiah. Sometimes even now, people can be heard saying, "there will never be another Malcolm X."

+ + +

THERE WILL NOT only be other Malcolms but there are and will continue to be persons who are more highly developed than was Brother Malcolm.

There is nothing unusual about this. Generations build on previous generations. They build on the struggles, sacrifices and mistakes of their forefathers. As a result of this process, man and society continue to develop to higher levels of development.

It would be incorrect for us to make prisoners of those generations yet unborn — making them prisoners of our recollections, imaginations and dreams.

People have finally come to realize and accept the fact that black people do have political differences. In political terminology, these differences are called tendencies. We used to think that black people are supposed to meet in the middle of Tiger stadium, have something like a town hall meeting and come up with one homogeneous view.

Fortunately, we have come to accept the fact that, like all other people, black people do have political differences. We have positions that want to assimilate and become "real Americans". We have black capitalists who really are trying to assimilate into the America's pie.

We also have separatists who see the solution to black people's problems as merely separation from white people. There is another solution which suggests that our problems will come to a halt if we all go back to Africa.

Finally, there is the position which says that "black liberation cannot be achieved except through a Black Revolution, and that the goal of the Black Revolution in the U. S. (like the goal of every revolution, regardless of [illegible]) is to take power for the purpose of bringing about a fundamental change in the social, economic and political institutions of the society."

These different political positions represent for the most part the political points of view of black Americans. We must accept the fact that these tendencies and many others do exist.

+ + +

WE HAVE ALL just passed through a period of being "black and proud" and most of us now realize that being black and proud is not enough.

Dashikis, natural haircuts and our own special handshake do not resolve the problems related to jobs, health, welfare, housing, education, and our lack of skills and lack of power in this society. Once again organizations and programs reveal themselves to be the order of the day.

The word black has been robbed of whatever meaning it may have had. Black has simply replaced Negro as a word by which we label or categorize ourselves.

Some persons have tried to give black a political definition, but there our inability to spell out exactly what black really meant has destroyed its, at one time, greater potential political significance. It is now merely our label but, when we look at this, its not so bad. At least, we have had the power to define who we are. This is a rather progressive development.

With the coming of 1970, we must look back on these developments and view them as some of our growing pains. We must not judge these developments too harshly but must look at them as some of the necessary stages that we had to pass through in order to reach our present level of development.

The decade that we are now beginning will be extremely difficult for African-Americans. We will have to abandon our old corrupt, apathetic and disorganized ways of living and operating. We will have to abandon them not for the sake of any sterile morality, but in order to develop ourselves into the kind of social force which is capable of taking over and reorganizing American society.

This will not be an easy task but we must understand that responsibility is the partner of power.

+ + +

from The Michigan Chronicle, January 10, 1970

THIS IS THE beginning of a decade that will be marked by RE-EVALUATION, RESPONSIBILITY, ORGANIZATION AND STRUGGLE.

Black people will be increasingly reevaluating our leadership and will understand that black nationalist revolutionary leadership — dedicated, knowledgeable and highly skilled is the only leadership that can provide a solution to black people's problems.

RESPONSIBILITY: Increasingly, we will understand that with power comes responsibility and in order to be responsible one must have skills instead of pushing young blacks into becoming lawyers, social workers, sociology teachers and history teachers.

We will understand that we will need the technical skills of a people who are concerned about power — city planning, printing technology, plumbing, carpentry, medicine, highway technology, etc. Responsibility will also entail criticizing ourselves to root out those aspects of our behavior that get in the way of progress.

ORGANIZATION will involve building the kinds of organizations that can effectively wage our battles. These organizations must be so structured that they get larger numbers of people engaged in struggle while simultaneously increasing their understanding of the need for struggle.

STRUGGLE will entail engaging the enemy in political and sometimes physical combat. Sometimes we will have to struggle over health, education, police brutality, housing, welfare and at other times we will have to struggle over something as basic as the kind of air we want to breathe.

Welcome to the 70's — REEVALUATION, RESPONSIBILITY, ORGANIZATION and STRUGGLE.

As long as black remain deficient in their capacity for mutual aid and cooperation, says the author, they will always be relegated to second-class citizenship.

Blacks Striving for Recognition

by Culbreth B. Cook Jr.

Mr. Cook

What the black citizen is striving for is no dream--no myth. It is very simple. He is striving for security; he is striving for recognition; he is striving for equal opportunity.

It is a well known fact by now that this will be gained in large part by education, the learning of skills which lead to the better jobs. These jobs help get rid of poverty.

How do we go about this? First of all the writer is a firm believer in the fact that we cannot live in two separate worlds--one all-white and the other all-black.

However, to make these gains we must organize separately in order to establish ethnic identity and solidarity which in turn brings progress. If we examine history where other ethnic groups have progressed, we find they have their own base of power. Further, they are not integrated with other groups at this base. Let us take the Cubans, for example. They came into Miami, Florida at the rate of 500 per month. For the most part they spent only seven years in ordinary jobs and on public assistance, when necessary. Now, in 1969, they own in excess of 2,000 businesses. Why? Because they started out in an integrated world--struggled and worked hard--walked past--and will still walk past super markets and other places of business TO BUY FROM THEIR OWN! Recently, they gave $50,000 to the Mid East crisis.

Why can't the black citizen do this? What are some of the problems? First, we must beware the middle class Negro! He has the tools, the money, the expertise, the prestige, and the status. He is able to move out of the ghetto. This is good; it represents progress. But what makes him dangerous? Since he lives outside the ghetto he subconsciously lives in a white world--identifies with the white man. This same fellow who moves into a high class neighborhood immediately has high anxieties that another Negro will move in. These same anxieties he has about jobs. Until he changes these attitudes and until he brings his black brother up from the ghetto his chances of going back are very great.

Secondly, one cannot think of another instance where a minority striving for equality has been so deficient in the capacity for mutual aid and cooperation. Almost invariably when a Negro makes his mark in whatever walk of life his first and foremost impulse is to escape the way of life, the mores, and the customs of his brothers. He immediately sees the Negro masses as a millstone around his neck, pulling him down, and keeping him from rising to the heights of fame and fortune.

The middle class Negro may use his fellow Negroes to enrich himself or to advance himself in the professions or in public office, but he will not lift a finger to lighten the burden of his people.

from The Ohio Call & Post, January 10, 1970

Let us look at the kind of thing about which we are speaking. Cleveland has a fine supermarket--Super Jet Supermarket. It belongs to a national chain controlled and operated by the black entrepreneur. It rightfully deserves EVERYBODY's support. Another is in the process of opening. There should be many more! There ought to be waiting lines of customers in that market every day. There ought to be so much business during the six working days that it should be necessary to open for business on the seventh day. Unfortunately, this is not the case. If we work for the success of this important enterprise (we gotta eat!) this will be an expression of power, pride and dignity. Further, it should serve as motivation for our youth and should fill a real need for increased economic strength in the black community.

Recently, the Chrysler Corporation granted to a black citizen the second automobile dealership in the history of Cleveland. Many of us drive Chrysler products. We, the black citizens alone, can make this a highly successful business--if only we will. There should be the greatest influx of Chrysler car buyers that this section of the country has ever seen--black buyers, that is.

The Jewish group would support the super market, the automobile dealership--BECAUSE THEY ONLY BUY FROM THEIR OWN. The Cubans would support the super market, the automobile dearship--BECAUSE THEY TOO, ONLY BUY FROM THEIR OWN.

Until we take this kind of affirmative action we will always be relegated to second-class citizenship.

This editorial says that the proposed closing of Langston University and Taft Hospital (both primarily black-attended institutions in Oklahoma), appears to be the start of an epidemic to eliminate the few community projects in which blacks fully participate.

Epidemic of Closed Doors

Just a few weeks ago because of problems at Langston University, one of our most promising state senators immediately came up with the proposal to conduct a study of Langston, with a recommendation that it be closed and converted into some facility other than a college where the students in attendance are predominantly Negro.

Subsequently, it is reported that this solon has pre-filed a resolution to call for a study of Langston to carry out his recommendation, and he holds up the glitter of millions of dollars that could be saved to the state if this action is followed.

Now, almost before we could get our breath from this one, comes the announcement that the governor will recommend to the 1970 legislature that Taft hospital be closed and the facility be transferred to the Welfare Department, which would operate an adult mental retardation program there.

From this report, we are told that Dr. Albert Glass, state mental health director, has been working for more than two years to close the Taft hospital. One of the reasons offered as to why Taft can be closed easily is because of the declining mental hospital population under Dr. Glass.

Another reason offered is that the Mental Health Department has had a difficult time staffing at Taft because of its isolated location (meaning really that Taft is an all-Negro town) poor and undeveloped and never has had the benefit of a real effort to integrate the institution's facilities, and that the difficulty in staffing is the unwillingness on the part of the state to press for its integration.

from Oklahoma Eagle, January 8, 1970

The other reason for the proposed closing of the Taft institution is a reputed saving of $1.4 million to the general fund appropriation once used to help keep afloat an institution in a black community and to provide a floor for its economy and without which it will soon become a ghost town.

The pattern is fast becoming an epidemic — two doors in a row, up to be closed; that only leaves one, The Boys Training School at Boley, and if the "silent majority" keeps up the pace, it shouldn't take long to get to that one. The course is easy because it's us.

There's something wrong with this kind of economy, and it ought not to become the vogue before these reformers have dished out some answers, and we must be the ones to seek those answers.

Not only do those proposals strip us of the few little footholds we have in the state, they are geared to impoverish the few communities left to us where freedom of movement and full participation is a fact.

More over, from the naked facts, the State Welfare Department already has more than it can say grace over. It would do well to set its own house in order, among its social workers all over the state, and especially in "little Dixie," such as LeFlore County and others where discrimination in employment and promotions is a way of life.

We deserve some answers about a lot of things when the state legislature convenes, and we ought to demand them.

Although the decade of the 60's brought about many changes for blacks, it ended with many disappointments and unsolved problems, says this author.

Reflections on the 60's

by Fitzgerald Beaver

Turning the corner into the decade of the 70's must be frightening for even the most capable and conscientious leaders, the most and the least responsible citizens, for our institutions, our country, and the world because the events of the 60's suggested problems yet threatening our survival in the coming decade.

We can look back upon the problems and violence of the 1960's with chagrin. Our leaders and their supporters furthered a bloody war on foreign shores. At home violent crimes increased throughout all of the country. Spiritual and political leaders were assassinated both nationally and locally. Our environment has been polluted with simultaneous technicological advances. Our economy has been inflated and our unemployment rate has increased. We have witnessed riots in Watts, Newark, and Detroit, and demonstrations which ended in violence in Chicago.

The mood of violence and its contingent, fear has been evident in the many successful "law and order" political campaigns. Even as the national conscience has accepted unprecedented changes in open housing, integration in the schools, black representation in business and the mass media, the nation has made room for growing "back lash" against these gains.

The decade of the 60's must surely look violent and disappointing yet, if we look closely, we can also see that out of the violence and the problems has come some indication of a changing national mood.

The country is tiring of war, racial hatred, social injustices, economic inequality, and political irresponsibility.

We have seen members of middle-class America join students led moratorium marches in San Francisco, in Washington D. C. and in Seattle.

We have seen a coalition of labor and civil rights leaders join with liberals to lobby together for a Senate rejection of what they believed an irresponsible Supreme Court appointment.

We have seen successful student demands that higher education reflect students needs.

We have seen Blacks taking their rightful places in government as mayors of large cities such as Flint, Michigan and Cleveland, Ohio, as president of Michigan State University, Seattle Community College and on the Supreme Court.

Black athletes such as Lenny Wilkins and Bill Russell were allowed coaching positions for the first time in professional athletics during the decade of the 60's.

Blacks once visible primarily as entertainers are now seen in all area of the mass media, in all phases of business and labor.

The decade of the 60's must close with many disappointments, with many unsolved problems but the 70's will open with changes that will not be reversed and with an emerging and growing national conscience that will hopefully disavow war, and the many inequities that fostered a previous violent decade.

from Seattle's The Facts, December 30, 1969

Religion And Rebellion

A new wave of potentially violent demands are being thrust upon American social, educational and religious institutions as we begin the decade of the 1970's. Actions by minority groups in establishing their identities, forcing recognition and demanding rights and freedoms from society, are ushering in a growing sense of confrontation. It is most evident in religion today and in the wide variety of rebellious actiions by many young people, who like the disenfranchised minorities, feel they have been ignored for too long. Many people, like the two authorities quoted below, agree to some extent with the dissenters, and warn that unless something is done to meet the demands, America may be headed for a period of violence and dissent greater than in the last half of the 1960's.

"You look around at the institutions which are yours – the church, school, everything – and you know that everything you've been doing, everything you've been thinking, everything you've been reading, everything you've been listening to, has been a lie manipulated by your white oppressor – the enemy."

Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr.
(Excerpt from his comments on "The Black Church.")

"The revolt of youth will not only continue but, in all likelihood, will escalate at both extremes – the hippies who seek escape and the activists who seek confrontation; the revolt of the blacks will also escalate as the gap between what they desire and what they have continues to grow."

Professor Philip M. Hauser,
University of Chicago
(Excerpt from an address on "Whither The Urban Society?" delivered at the National League of Cities Conference, December 2, 1970)

A year-end survey of news stories ranks the demands of blacks, especially on churches, as the number one issue of 1969.

Black Demands Top Story of' 69

by George A. Collins

The Top Religion Story of 1969 typifies the temper of the nation — conflict and confrontation.

To say that the churches and the religious institutions of the nation are not relevant was not accurate this year.

The Black Manifesto — the demand by black churchmen that the nation's churches and synagogues turn over $3 billion of their funds in reparations for 300 years of black suppression — was without doubt the top religion story of the year.

The key poll on religion stories each year is conducted by the membership of the Religious Newswriters Association in this country. Mrs. Dorothy Newell, Religion Editor of the Patriot Ledger of Quincy, has just completed the polling of 100 R.N.A. members.

The Black Manifesto and all of its spin-off demands by blacks within and without the white religious organization in the country has been Page One news almost every week since its issuance in Detroit in April.

Reaction against it, charges that it is a blatant extortion effort, etc., and support for the programmatic demands in the manifesto have upset and split church bodies from the congregational to the national level. Reaction to the continued demands for church funds to empower blacks will continue to make news in 1970.

The second-rated story in the R.N.A. poll was Episcopalian Bishop James Pike's death in Israel.

The third-and fourth-rated stories according to the men and women who cover religion full time in the secular press of the nation pertained to the Roman Catholic Church.

The third-ranked story dealt with the complex issue of the Catholic clergy and religious — and one bishop — leaving their institutional vocations. The fourth story turned out to be the news produced by the Catholic Bishops Synod at Rome — a meeting which originally was supposed to be behind locked doors and blacked out to the press.

The remaining stories in the top ten included:

5—Possible taxation of religious property.

6—National Council of Churches General Assembly at Detroit.

7. Religious unrest in Northern Ireland.

8. Roman Catholic parochial school closings.

9. Religion in the peace movement.

10. Congress on Evangelism at Minneapolis.

The Black Manifesto and the black revolution and its effect on religious institutions and individuals in the nation will probably be rated the top religion story of the decade.

The only other story of a religious nature which may top it is the Second Vatican Council.

from Boston Globe, December 27, 1969

> "Reaction to the continued demands for church funds to empower blacks will continue to make news in 1970."

This article presents an appraisal of the changes in predominantly white churches regarding blacks, since James Forman made his Black Manifesto demands nearly a year ago.

Racial Unrest is Shaking Churches as Black Christians Demand Equality

by Ray Ruppert

The real moment of truth may be near for white churches in their response to the demand of blacks and other minority people for hard, cold dollars to aid economic development and for positions of authority.

It has been almost a year since James Forman bulled his way to public attenton with the angry rhetoric of the Black Manifesto, including the demand that churches and synagogues pay millions of dollars in reparations for what he considered past injustices.

But Forman, for all his bombast, was not too much of a problem for the churches, as things turned out. He could be handled. Church leaders listened to what he had to say and some denominations agreed to find funds for black causes.

The churches could and did reject Forman, the man. He was tainted by his past associations and his reputation as a militant. Moreover, the Marxist language in the Black Manifesto was reason enough for some church people to turn him off.

Apparently, the Forman threat was defused when black clergymen managed to capture key positions in the Black Economic Development Corporation, the organization which had given Forman a platform from which to make his demands.

There was an assumption by some church leaders that the black clergymen—colleagues under the skin, so to speak—would tone down the B. E. D. C. demands, gratefully accept whatever funds the denominations were willing and able to give and quietly go back to their churches in the inner city.

That hasn't happened.

THE EVIDENCE NOW is that the black clergymen are in a new and militant mood. And, because they are fellow clergymen and co-religionists they are not vulnerable as Forman was to accusations of ignorance about churches and of Marxism.

Something of this same situation is developing outside the church in race relations. Apparently, the traditionally moderate civil-rights groups are coming out of hibernation and taking the play away from militants.

Such groups as the Black Panthers may be on the decline at the moment while the Urban League, N. A. A. C. P. and others show signs of a new vigor. Also climbing back into the ring are the black churches.

Among developments:

1. The National Committee of Black Churchmen has agreed to join forces with others for a "massive effort" to press for millions of dollars in reparations from the white churches.

2. The N.C.B.C. attempted to win appointment of blacks to top positions in the National Council of Churches this week. The attempt apparently has failed. But it would be premature to say that struggle is over.

3. A special report of the Race Relations Information Center predicted that the United Methodist Church is headed for a severe racial crisis, a possibility not limited to the Methodists.

A united front has been organized by three groups, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization and the Black Economic Development Conference, to demand funds for black development.

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN Leadership Conference has been asked to join.

These are the major, national groups aligned with black churchmen and this is the beginning of a "firm and hard position."

The words are those of the Rev. Calvin Marshall of Brooklyn, director of B.E.D.S., who said the position has been taken "because we black churchmen will no longer allow ourselves to be separated and dealt with as individuals."

In the past, denominations have listened to Forman's words and then given money to I.F.C.O. or to N.C.B.C. rather than to the B.E.D.C.

Black spokesmen have interpreted this as a refusal to accept the validity of the Black Manifesto program and as an attempt to split the various black-clergy organizations. Moreover, I.F.C.O. has been under the control of white denominations.

But many church leaders counter with the argument that funds have been channeled to I.F.C.O., for example, to quiet the restless, angry and rebellious white-church members who see the reparations demands as extortion.

The Race Relations Information Center decided to make a study of the United Methodist Church because that denomination is the largest of the Protestant churches, its membership includes more blacks than any other predominantly white church and the black minority has chosen to work within the framework of the church.

The study found the church dividing into two camps:

ONE CONSISTS of the Black Methodists for Church Renewal, joined by some white members who may be called liberal or radical, depending upon one's viewpoint.

On the other side is a large body of white Methodists, not well organized, but generally united in a negative reaction to the black demands. They resent the impact of the black movement on secular society and are bitter because unrest has spread to the sanctuary.

They have responded by putting less in the collection plate, cancelling church publications that publish articles on black issues, and by joining the Southern Methodist Church.

The black caucus has insisted on representation in all

from Seattle Times, December 6, 1969

church activities at all levels and has demanded church money to finance black projects.

Leaders of the church are struggling doggedly to accommodate the black movement without infuriating white conservatives.

The stakes are high.

How the Methodists resolve the racial crisis in the church, if they do in fact resolve it, will give some indication to other denominations of Christianity's future in the United States.

THE STUDY TENDS to document the polarization in the churches which has been long suspected. But the element which seems to be growing in importance at the moment is the increasingly militant mood of black clergymen and black members of white churches.

And, although they publicly endorse the Black Manifesto, their anger with the white institutional church can be interpreted more as the anger of love than of hate.

MR. MARSHALL recently told an Episcoapl bishop: "I'm black and I'm Christian, and I work in that context. I'm certainly not a man who advocates violence."

He also said, of the B. E. D. C. board: "There is no way in the world that you could hint that we are Communists or Marxists, or that we intend to do anything that is not consistent with the concepts of the Christian gospel . . .

"We are establishing programs to eliminate the kind of dehumanizing poverty and powerlessness that is so much a part of the black scene . . .

"If there has to be violence to change the system, let it not be our violence. Let it be somebody else's violence.

"Some people would love for it to be our violence, because then everything we're trying to say and do could be written off or misunderstood . . .

"White people have to understand this: We're not trying to blow up the Statue of Liberty. We're not trying to shoot down anything. We're trying to build people and bring people together, and the church can help us get this message across."

Recent words of the Rev. Samuel B. McKinney, pastor of Mount Zion Baptist Church, here may not be exactly pertinent but they help explain how black clergymen bring together black demands for justice and the Christian message

Mr. McKinney wrote: "One form of profanity is to say God committed a creative error when He made men different."

This writer looks upon the recent conference of the National Council of Churches as a "circus," and gives his reasons for the critical evaluation.

The Circus At Cobo

by Leon Watts

Our society has taught us well to avoid conflict, deny tension, explain away contradiction and to flee confrontation. The triennium of the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. was a superb exhibition of lessons learned well. Extreme and exorbitant measures were taken to maintain a facade of peace and tranquility. The efforts of the NCC leadership were well rewarded. They succeeded in avoiding conflict; denying tension; and rationalizing away contradiction. In their success, they failed. For the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. became *The Circus At Cobo Hall.*

Every school boy knows about the three ring circus. This circus was not unlike any other circus you and I have attended. In the first ring there was the NCC's leadership—in pre-eminence were Mr. Arthur Flemming and Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy—with a number of the N.C.C. staff. They had succeeded in planning an eccelesiastical extravaganza. All of the pomp and circumstance of a medieval coronation were present. Thousands of pounds of mimeographed papers—enough to easily sink the Titanic—were put into the hands of the delegates. To read these papers one would have to conclude that we were there for *serious business.* That they had spent many, many hours in preparation for the show is indisputable. That the agenda was well prepared and dealt with serious questions facing the church and society is unquestionable. That these men understand the nature of life in an age of transition is questionable. Equally questionable is an understanding of the nature of conflict and controversy. They occupied the dias—the first ring of the circus.

The second group of actors in *The Circus at Cobo* were the delegates; most of whom were middle-age, middle-class white Protestants, with all of the hang-ups of WASP America plus one very distinct addition—they operate the levers of the American Protestant Religious Establishment. For the most part their belief in and committment to the church is only transcended by their belief in God. They live and belong to the sacred world! They are accurately described by D. H. Lawrence in his poem, "How Beastly The Bourgeois Is", where he says:

"Oh, but wait!
Let him meet a new emotion, let him be faced with another man's need,
let him come home to a bit of moral difficulty, let life face him with a new demand on his understanding
and then watch him go soggy, like a wet meringue.
Watch him turn into a mess, either a fool or a bully.
Just watch the display of him, confronted with a new demand on his intelligence,
a new life-demand."

Lawrence further states:

"Nicely groomed, like a mushroom
standing there so sleek and erect and eyeable—
and like a fungus, living on the remains of bygone life
sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own."

He concludes by saying:

"What a pity they can't all be kicked over
like sickening toadstools, and left to melt back, swiftly into the soil of England."

They represent the real professional Christians. They see revolution as being inimical to the faith. Any talk of confrontation is out of order, if not "communist inspired." Those who see it are either "nuts" or "communists," certainly anti-Christ. For them love-talk - not love - is the prevasive motivation for actions. These delegates in the center ring put on superb act of showmanship—they had real talent. They made decisions in the morning and reversed them in the afternoon. They voted upon issues that were nebulous. They laughed, cheered and some even cried as they proceeded in their acts with excellence and exuberance. These ambulatory delegates spent a considerable amount of their time walking around and playing to the grandstands. They were designated with green cards—a sign of distinction. If you had a green card you had reached the pinnacle of success in the religious society. You played in the center ring. Everyone knows and watches the center ring. You have arrived. A little bit late—because you are old and out of it. Insensitive, inane, inept, but you are one of the major actors. You have made it!

In the third ring was a group of persons—forty-five in number—called crisis, consultants. A very curious

from Renewal, December 1969

distinction since none of the other actors believed that there really *was* a crisis and, if they for one moment allowed that possibility to exist in their minds, they were determined to abort it. These were persons who had not yet had their sensitivities and sensibilities dulled by the graving process of accommodation and amelioration. They had not begun the process of hope-against-despair—"the sickness unto death." However, they believed against belief that the N.C.C. had some will to open itself up to the present day demands upon it as an institution representing the people of God. They really never got their act off the ground. It was a flop. At least most of them were over thirty-three. Even at that they did better with the structures than did their Christ. It is clear that the crisis consultants had no function but to aid and abet the actors of rings one and two to do their thing—to absorb conflict, tension and controversy. They could say "see we have our house conflictors; we do not need in any outside agitation."

No circus is complete without side shows. And *The Circus at Cobo* was no different. There was one important distinction, spectators did not have to move from their seats to view the side shows. They were brought into the arena. Not only that, the actors in the first two rings brought their acts to a screeching halt in order to enjoy and to participate in the side shows. The main actors in the side shows were Jonathan's Wake, The National Committee of Black Churchmen, the Black Economic Development Conference and the worship service leaders. Jonathan's Wake made its first appearance Sunday evening during the procession of the thirty-three member denominations. The Rev. James R. McGraw, attired in a Wake robe, and the Rev. Stephen Rose, less natal and less appropriately attired, led the procession. The sermon given by Dr. Joseph Sittler, and the worship itself, bespoke the theme of the Wake. It was indeed very, very sad, excruciatingly painful. As we sat there stultified and stupefied by the pain of what we were being subjected to, there came a clear call from the middle of the arena, at the close of the sermon, "Wake Time! Wake Time!! Wake Time!!! The most stimulating part of the entire evening. However, that was only for a fleeting moment—then the call, like truth—was gone. And then the processional—business as usual. Once again the bureaucracy had succeeded in aborting and absorbing conflict. It said in effect "we allow everyone the right to do his thing." That was just the beginning.

Jonathan's Wake proved to be a most interesting side show. In each instance, when the Wake attempted to bump the assembly up against some sense of reality, that upagainstness was applauded. You could hear the delegates in the center of the ring remark, "Arent they cute? Isn't that nice! We need some excitement to liven up the place! Aren't they smart! Isn't that funny! You know they are very creative but a little odd don't you think? Aren't we great to allow them to do their thing and not call the cops!" The Wake was one of the more exciting things to happen at the assembly. It was indeed a Happening.

The Wake was made up of a variety of persons with many dissimilar interests. Yet they had two things in common. They believed against belief that the N.C.C. had some possibilities of *hearing* and *responding* to what was being said. They were in error. The second thing they held in common is the belief that there was some possibility of real confrontation at *The Circus at Cobo*. They underestimated the abilities of the bureaucracy to absorb conflict and to deny confrontation. They were a good show—they lost the battle—the war is yet to be waged.

The second important side show was the National Committee of Black Churchmen. It was headed by the Rev. J. Metz Rollins. His performance was out-of-sight. The NCBC, in an effort to create some confrontation around the issue of racism, nominated two black candidates for the two top elected posts, President and General Secretary. The main characteristics of the candidates was that they took a hard line *against* racism and *for* black people. The Assembly and spectators approved of them and allowed them to perform on a number of occasions. Needless to say no confrontation took place —not even a hint of conflict—and tension was allowed to surface.

In another effort to confront the Assembly the Black Economic Development Conference represented by Mr. James Forman and the Reverend Calvin B. Marshall, III presented again the demand for reparations from the churches. The assembly was most orderly and quiet during the period of presentation. However, no impact was felt by those in the center ring and the first ring. They seemed to have been quite impervious to what was going on around and about them. The center ring participants could be heard to remark, "Aren't they great!" "And intelligent too!"

There were other side shows, the Welfare Rights Organization, The Peace Movement, persons opposed to the draft, etc. All met with the same kind of sympathetic frustration. It was clear that the managers of this circus intended nothing more than a lark. Certainly, avoid confrontation at all costs.

What does it all mean? In the first instance this General Assembly proved again the will and the ability of the bureaucracy to avoid conflict, deny tensions, explain away contradiction and to flee confrontation. Its survival is based upon its ability of absorb any and everything which comes into conflict with it. Precisely because it does not *really* understand the nature of conflict.

The theme of the General Assembly said "Choose Life." Upon looking at that theme one would suppose that we are engaged in a life and death struggle; that we are raising questions about what it means to live and what is the nature of dying and death; that we have life over death; and that life is more excellent than death. Whatever may have been in the minds of those in ring one, one would have to conclude that there is conflict and struggle going on. However, there was neither struggle nor conflict.

The fact of the matter is that conflict is a *sine qua non* to life. The bureaucracy can not grow simply because it avoids conflict, tension, and contradiction. In our society we learn very early in our existence that it is more virtuous to avoid or to absorb conflict rather than to deal with it. Conflict is inimical to the western mindset. In fact *conflict* is an ugly word. And those who get involved in such are either immature or just plain nasty people. Parents must not show anger and hostility to-

ward children, children must understand that personal feelings, emotions, motivations must be subjected to the higher urgency toward a more acceptable morality when there is likely to be conflict. The pretense of non-conflict as non-reality, is both idiotic and stifling. It is through dealing with conflict that we are forced up against some realities. These realities enable us to grow and function, moving toward maturity. The N.C.C. may expand, but it can never grow until it takes itself in tow and deals creatively with conflict, tension and contradiction.

There is no question that those who are engaged in conflict seek destruction. The problem is that structures such as the N.C.C. see conflictors as enemies. Therefore, they make some pretense at dealing with conflict by only talking and listening to themselves, or others like themselves. What Frederick Douglass said is true:

> "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the field. They want the rain without the thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the terrible roar of its many waters."

It is a symbol of pathos when the avoidance of conflict becomes the *raison d' etre*. With survival as the main element of existence, the bureaucracy gets locked into that kind of insidious self-protection. The mechanisms for that self-protection are elaborate and obviate any movement or sensitivity to the world outside.

It is further an incorrect assumption that logic, order and rationality are more excellent interpretations of reality than are emotions and disorder. So much do we depend exclusively upon logic, rationality and order as the means for interpretation of reality that we denigrate and disparage emotions and disorder. We refuse to see the illogicality of our analysis. It was precisely the need to keep things rational and orderly that the N.C.C. lost its chance at being prophetic and relevant.

Finally, the assumption that to choose life is the more excellent way is contradictory to and inconsistent with the life we have chosen as Christians. For the commandment from our Lord is "to lose life in order to find it." While the N.C.C. was willing to affirm life, it was not willing to consider the proposition that in order to gain life one must lose it. Jonathan's Wake suggested that the N.C.C. consider dismantling itself. This was out of the question. E. E. Cummings puts it clearly to us:

> "dying is fine) but Death
> ?o
> baby
> i
> wouldn't like
> Death if Death
> were
> good;
> for
> when (instead of stopping to think) you
> begin to feel of it,
> dying
> 's miraculous
> why?
> be
> cause dying is
> perfectly natural; perfectly
> putting
> it mildly, lively but
> Death
> is strictly
> scientific
> & artificial &
> evil & legal)
> we thank thee
> god
> almighty for dying (forgive us, o life the sin of death"

The avoidance of conflict, the denial of tension and the rationalization of contradiction is the sin of death. Choose dying to choose life.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing the field."

Brigham Young University, which is sponsored by the Mormon Church, has come under attack because of the Church's policy of refusing to admit blacks to the priesthood.

Stanford University Cancels All Contracts With Mormon Church

by Lester Kensolving

Stanford University will "not enter into future contracts with any institution sponsored by the Mormon Church," according to University President Kenneth Pitzer.

And in announcing that Stanford was severing athletic relations with Utah's Mormon-owned Bringham Young University (BYU), President Pitzer explained:

"Top officials of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which sponsors BYU, have told Stanford officers that the Church currently has policies that no Negro of African lineage may have the right to the priesthood."

Yet despite this statement, Dr. Pitzer subsequently issued another statement:

"Our action was in no way intended to be a judgment of BYU, or criticism of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

If not a criticism, was this supposed to be a compliment?—or just a neutral comment?

During an interview with this writer, President Pitzer replied: "We're not trying to judge religion, but we have to make a choice as to whom we schedule."

After further questioning, however, he conceded that since there were no reports of any racial discrimination, dirty playing, or untoward recruiting at BYU, it was this LDS racial doctrine alone which motivated the severance of relations.

PRESIDENT PITZER was then asked to comment on the fact that listed among "voluntary organizations" officially registered at Stanford there is the "LDS (Latter Day Saints) Students Association." And University regulations allow only those organizations "whose purposes and prodecures are not inconsistent with the goals and standards of the University."

"Athletes have no choice of the teams they compete with," he explained, "While the presence of a voluntary organization on campus might have a similar effect, it is more voluntary."

But isn't there infinitely more discussion of Mormon doctrine on the Stanford Campus by the LDS Students Association than by any visiting BYU basketball players?

"I'm not sure that's true," replied President Pitzer. (Mormon boys are renowned for their missionary zeal. But there are few if any reports of their using basketball halftimes to proselytize, or trying to preach while struggling for rebounds.)

STANFORD HAS MORE than 200 LDS students and a dozen faculty members, including Bishop Henry Eyring, a professor in the School of Business. Joseph C. Muren, who the University officially recognizes as the LDS representative on Stanford's United Ministry staff, told this writer:

"We are just as zealous as the Campus Crusade for Christ! 75% of our married students and 25% of our single students are experienced missionaries. And the LDS Students Association is the official organization of the LDS Church on the Stanford campus."

In discussing Stanford's BYU ban, Mr. Muren went on to say: "We have had three conversations with President Pitzer and 10 conversations with Mr. Wyman (Assistant to the President)."

APPARENTLY THESE conversations were fruitful—as far as Mormons on the Stanford campus were concerned—if not Mormons on the BYU campus. For despite the fact that the controversial LDS racial doctrine (as held and preached by the "zealous" Stanford Mormons) has not changed, the LDS Students Association is still recognized by Stanford—as is the official status of Mr. Muren.

As for the rule requiring that all such campus organizations must have "purposes not inconsistent with decisive blow on behalf of a growing number of Mormons who deplore the racial doctrine (including Hugh Brown, one of the Church's highest ranking leaders, and former Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall.)

ANY SUCH CHANGE is dependent upon a direct revelation from God to 95-year-old President David O. McKay, who has written that "Negroes are not entitled to the full blessings of the Gospel."

But one of McKay's predecessors had just such a divine revelation: that polygamy was wrong (within months of the U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding the anti-polygamy statutes).

This effect of the Supreme Court, however, can hardly be compared to the

from San Francisco Chronicle, December 18, 1969

inconsistency of Stanford's banning of distant athletes but not resident missionaries. And President Pitzer has already "apologized" to President McKay (text of this letter was not available)—even though, notably, continuing the severance of relations with off campus Mormon institutions.

the goals and standards of the University," President Pitzer explained:

"We have not made a very strict interpretation of that rule. In fact we have been very loose in its interpretation."

Had Stanford been willing to be consistent in its banning of Mormon organizations, the resulting pressure might have struck a

> "Any such change is dependent upon a direct revelation from God to 95-year-old President David O. McKay, who has written that Negroes are not entitled to the full blessings of the gospel."

Reactions to a Massachusetts Episcopal Church's attempt to give money to a black church group has erupted into a State Supreme Court battle, with some church members hotly opposing the grant.

Church is Sued on Aid to Blacks

New York—Two Episcopal Church members from Massachusetts sought in State Supreme Court yesterday to block their church from giving $200,000 to a Negro churchmen's group which they contend is a conduit for black militant James Forman.

The church members, David Arms and Walter Gates, filed suit to keep the Episcopal Church of the U.S., whose offices are at 815 Second Ave., Manhattan, from giving the funds to the National Committee of Black Churchmen. In papers filed in the case, Arms and Gates said that the National Committee of Black Churchmen subscribes to the "Black Manifesto," calling for "reparations" from churches for blacks. It has been issued several times by Forman. The suit said that the group is a conduit for the Black Economic Development Conference, Forman's group.

Named in the petition filed by Arms and Gates were Presiding Bishop John E. Hines, the treasurer of the Episcopal Church of the U.S., and Richard P. Kent, vice president. Arms and Gates asked the court to restrain the church from any further collecting of funds for the Negro group and to direct the church to account for any funds so far received for that purpose.

The basis for the suit is the action last September of the Episcopal Church at a special general convention in South Bend, Ind. The convention approved a $200,000 grant for "national black community development," with the funds to go to the National Committee of Black Churchmen. Gates and Arms contended in their suit that the choice of the committee was "arbitrary and capricious" and asked the court to select another organization, a group that they said would "truly benefit the Negro people," to receive the funds.

The action by the Episcopal Church at the convention in Indiana came five months after Forman first issued his "Black Manifesto" at Riverside Church in Manhattan. Forman called for "reparations" of $500,000,000 from churches to black Americans.

In November, two months after the Indiana policy meeting of the church, a group of Episcopal ministers from the Long Island Diocese announced that it would withhold some church donations to show dissent over the church's national policy.

from Newsday, December 16, 1969

"Arms and Gates asked the court to restrain the church from any further collecting of funds for the Negro group and to direct the church to account for any funds so far received for that purpose."

A number of prominent black ministers give their opinions on what they think will happen to the black church in the future.

Black Pastors Hopeful

by Wallace Henley

Will the phenomena of church union and desegregation become for the Negro church in America a labyrinth in whose tangled corridors the black church will ultimately vanish?

Will the Negro church, in the quest for mission in the '70s, be a Jonah, swallowed and digested by the whale of a merger-conscious society?

The intense opinion expressed by several black and white church observers is that the Negro church is not headed for a vanishing act.

WHILE THE BLACK church will be caught up in the merger whale, some of the observers think the black church will, in fact, enrich the whale.

For Rev. C. L. Hutchinson, pastor of the all-Negro St. Paul United Methodist Church, one of the prime missions of the black church in the future will be to bring "blackness" to the white church.

"I hope we don't come into the church mergers of the future trying to be white," he says of Negro denominations. "We have a spirit of religion—call it 'soul' — that we hope to bring into churches with which we might merge.

"We black men have a ministry of suffering whites haven't had. We might even be able to save the white church by pointing to our dignity as men despite our sufferings as Negroes. This just may be our primary ministry to our white brothers," says Rev. Hutchinson.

REV. MOSES JAVIS, Tabernacle Baptist Church, is a fiery young pulpiteer who hopes to run for the Alabama Legislature, will call a white man as assistant pastor of his all-black church soon, and says he is "turned on by Dietrich Bonhoeffer like a teenage girl is turned on by Tom Jones."

He thinks Negroes will have to overcome a fear white churches have of Negro ministers. "We always inspire your white laity when we are invited to speak to them. White preachers are scared of black preachers for this ability to inspire," Rev. Javis said.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a theologian hanged by the Nazis in 1945 for participation in plots against Hitler's life. Rev. Javis is inspired by Bonhoeffer, he says,, because the German showed that theology must be adapted to the social and historical background of a period.

Bonhoeffer's opposition and hopes for Hitler personally might be considered un-Christian by some. But that was outweighed by Hitler's evil. So Javis thinks a black theology, hacked out of the Negro's experience, is being born.

"THE NEGRO is writing a new version of the New Testament everytime he speaks," says Javis.

In addition to what the ministers see as a surprising ministry to whites, the black church will continue to survive, they think, with firm and special ministry to blacks.

This special ministry, thinks Rev. L. S. Brannon of Southside CME Church, is to give the Negro dignity and self-respect. Through the black church, he feels, the Negro finds that "given a chance, he can get the things he needs, without bowing and scraping."

Some Negro churchmen have feared church union, thinking it might erode their power. Rev. Brannon sees this risk, but desegregation and church union, he thinks, "are worth the risk."

THE MINISTERS all feel that the black church got its power because, as Hutchinson says, "it's about the only thing the Negro has had where he could exercise power." The Negro, adds Javis, looked to his minister as a well-educated, thoughtful man, even if he wasn't.

Now the black ministers must move their power bases to other spheres — like politics. "The black minister has to move into the political world, dealing as he would in the spiritual," says Brannon.

"If black people look to their minister, he ought to use this to get the people involved. Somebody's got to give inspiration," says Javis.

Despite the glimmers, not all is hunky-dory in the black church. Javis, for example, worries over the Negro Baptist informal policy of installing denominational leadership for life. It builds personal power structures and robs the church of vitality, he thinks.

HUTCHINSON SEES the black church as hampered by fragmentation. "We've got to get together with unity of strategy," he says.

For Brannon, the problem is updating ministries. He feels the Negro church still has not come far enough in its idea of ministering beyond Sunday, to the "whole man."

But that the all-black church will continue as a strong force in the black world it is accustomed to, and now in the white world, the men have no doubt.

"This has been the church that has brought man through toils and trials. We have a unique ministry in our day. We can relate to most of the nation's poor if we just don't blow it," Hutchinson hopes.

from Birmingham News, January 2, 1970

A Methodist church in the Puerto Rican community of New York was forced into the arena of rapidly changing times, when a group of young militants took it over temporarily.

The Young Lords in Struggle

NEW YORK (LNS) -- Here's the church. Here's the steeple. Open the door -- and here's all the people! For once the children's rhyme is a reality. The First Spanish Methodist Church, until recently, like most churches, an empty shell six days a week, has been claimed by the people it is supposed to serve.

The drab red-brick church squats unobtrusively at 111th and Lexington amid the poverty of El Barrio (Spanish Harlem). A few Puerto Ricans used to leave the overworn tenemants neglected by their absentee landlords, step through the garbage that the city leaves uncollected on their streets and sidewalks, and come to the church to pray and get warm for an hour on Sunday. Now many more come every day -- to eat, to learn, to sing and dance, to watch movies and to save their children from lead poisoning. A plywood sign now hangs from the door of the church. The red paint legend proclaims that First Spanish Methodist has been newly named and consecrated Iglesia de la Gente -- People's Church.

On Sunday, Dec. 28, the Young Lords Organization took control of the church. The takeover was the final strategy of a six-week struggle with the church's Board of Directors and its minister, an anti-Castro Cuban named Dr. Humberto Carrazana, to get them to provide space for a breakfast

from Liberation News Service, January 7, 1970

program, daycare center, and liberation school for the children of El Barrio. Carrazana and the Board persistently refused to let the Lords use the empty church. Significantly, most of the members of the congregation are counter-revolutionary Cubans who come to El Barrio on Sunday from more affluent neighborhoods; they couldn't care less about the Puerto Ricans. When New York Lords Chairman Felipe Luciano spoke to the congregation during Sunday services on Dec. 7 asking for space in the church, Carrazana called the police, who broke into the church, beat the Lords and their supporters, arrested 13 and sent eight to the hospital.

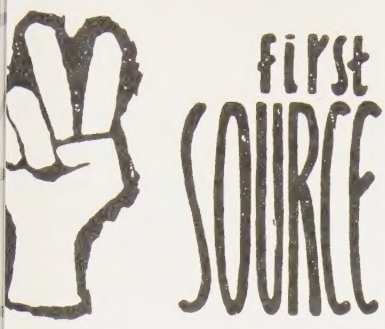
Thousands have flocked to Iglesia de la Gente since the Lords opened its doors. People drift in and out of the church all day long. They have seen the leaflets that the Lords distributed throughout the community inviting them to Iglesia de la Gente, or they have heard the "word" that has spread throughout El Barrio. People in the streets and the stores are talking about the church that feeds the children. Many of the citizens of El Barrio have already met the Lords before, when they went from door to door in the community testing children for signs of lead poisoning. The children who eat at the breakfast program are the best recruiters of new visitors to People's Church. One boy pointed out nine of his playmates that he had brought inside to eat lunch.

The people come to the community dinners to eat fried chicken, rice and salad -- all free. They listen to Puerto Rican poets, sing Puerto Rican liberation songs, watch Newsreel movies about the Cuban struggle and about how Rockefeller ripped off their homes to build Lincoln Center for middle class whites to enjoy. They come to see "The Battle of Algiers" projected above the altar of the chapel.

The Lords do not want a violent confrontation with the cops. They say it would be suicidal. There are many children in the church all the time. Felipe Luciano said Jan. 6 that if they are arrested peacefully, they will leave peacefully.

No matter what the outcome, the Lords have reached the people of El Barrio. The poor will initiate other actions against the schools, the hospitals and the police. Waiting for the bust, Yoruba, Minister of Information for the Young Lords, told a cheering crowd in the chapel, "We've won! They'll never wipe this out of the minds of the people!"

"No matter what the outcome, the Lords have reached the people of El Barrio."



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Tape Transcription
December 19, 1969

Interview with Yoruba, Minister of Information, Young Lords Organization Regarding confrontations at the First Spanish Methodist Church in El Barrio (Spanish Harlem).

Q. Why was the First Spanish Church chosen to present your demands that they serve the community? Will you make similar demands of other community churches?

A. The First Spanish Church was chosen because it was right smack dead in the center of the Barrio. It's a beautiful location right in the middle of the community. It was also chosen because it is one church in the community that has consistently closed itself up to the community. It's only open for a few hours each week and for the rest of the week it turns into one big brick that sits on 111th St. and Lexington. It's not just the Young Lords or our political beliefs that they responded to - they don't even deal with the anti-poverty organizations in the community.

Most of the other churches like St. Cecilia's and Good Neighbor and some of the Catholic churches have some kind of a program. They could do a little more brushing up, be a little more effective, but at least they try, they have something - they have kids come and play in the gym, they have head start programs or something. This church used to have 40-50 young people in the church. Now they've lost all their young people - their own sons and daughters - because they got rid of the gym. They cut out all their youth programs. This church has been around for about 10 years. They had a gym and then there was a fire and they rebuilt the church and had a gym in there. They had a basement and a sub-basement and then took it out a few years ago.

The young people started coming back when we started doing our thing in the church and there's a conflict going on in the church now between the young people and the board of directors. The young people are also put off by us, but they know there's nothing wrong with breakfast programs, so they've been helping us a lot.

Q. On Sunday you made a statement that you were unarmed and if the police came in they would be killing innocent people - are you always unarmed?

A. We believe that eventually we will have to arm ourselves, and the people will have to arm themselves, when we make our move for liberation. Right now that's not a probability - that would be suicidal at

this point because what we are right now is a propaganda unit. We're educating the people to what it is to be born in Kenya, what it is to be Puerto Rican , and also to the contradictions in the society. We don't need guns to do that. We don't have any guns in this office - to do so would be to invite the police to come in to have a massacre, to have a riot.

We know they have their agents, their spies. They've been checking us out. They know darn well we don't have any guns, but they're just trying to be funny. Last Wednesday at 3:00 p.m. they surrounded the office with 150 police and out here on Madison Ave. police cars lined up. They were on the rooftops across the street and they just sat there for 15 minutes, just checking us out. It was to intimidate us, to have us provoke something. The people came out into the street and were behind us. They asked what are they here for and we told them what they were here for. Our explanation made a connection with what happened to the Black Panther party a week before and the people said "Why? You haven't hurt anybody."

So it's obvious that what's going down is just this mad provocation, and that's the only conspiracy. There's a trial in Chicago they call the "Conspiracy 8" but the only conspiracy in this country is that of a small ruling class that just puts down poor people and that's the conspiracy that we just want to move out of the way.

Q. Do you think that the concept of reparations as expressed by James Forman is a valid one for Puerto Rican people?

A. James Forman's basic concept is that the churches have been a helping hand and a willing partner in the oppression of black people. This also holds true for Puerto Rican people, especially the Catholic church since most Puerto Ricans are Catholic.

The other issue that has been brought up is that organized religion has got to respond to the needs of the people. Now the Board of Directors and members of that church say that we imposed ourselves on them by speaking up and asking for space during their service. We say that they have imposed themselves on the community by putting their church in the middle of the community and then not opening their doors to the people. That's the true imposition that they fail to see. Some other people and the press just like to play up this thing that we disrupted the service. We were upholding an ancient Christian tradition since the time of Paul, that says anybody that comes to a service has the right to speak up. In true Christianity the rights of the minority have always been respected.

There are certain people in organized religion who have become established that feel that theirs is the only way to serve God, to serve the people. That's not quite right. The contradictions of an organized religion that can permit someone like Cardinal Spellman to bless the troops before they go out and commit something like the Song My massacre makes it obvious that there is no separation between church and politics.

We know that within the church there's a small revolution going on - Ivan Illych in Mexico is a beautiful brother who's taking care of a lot of business and educating the people and exposing the contradictions that exist in capitalism. Camilo Torres died in Latin America for what he believed in, so there are some. The hierarchy of the church has got to come down from up there in the sky and see what's happening with the people.

Q. Can you tell me what is your relationship with the Black Panthers and the Patriot Party?

A. You see, if we're attacked we're going to defend outselves. Huey Newton brought that principle up and it's true. Anybody in the street knows that for a long time our people have been beat, we'be been brutalized, killed, raped and the only way we're going to stop that is by defending ourselves. Now the police came into Fred's home and murdered him in his bed in Chicago. They claim that he attacked first, which is a lot of nonsense. Or that raid in Los Angeles - they claim the Panthers came out and started shooting. There's 300 police surrounding the office and right away the Panthers are going to start shooting at the 300 policemen. Why? Because they're crazy. That doesn't make any sense.

The police obviously provoked that whole thing and started it. If you just sit there you're going to get wiped out, and if you're going to go down you might as well take somebody with you - you've got to defend yourself. That's human instinct, survival instinct.

The Rainbow Coalition consists of the Patriot Party, Young Lords Organization and the Black Panther Party. If you're not familiar with the Patriots, that's a revolutionary white organization. We call it the Rainbow Coalition because it's a rainbow of cultures and colors. We also say there's a rainbow existing in the Puerto Rican community because Puerto Ricans can be as dark as I am or have blonde hair and blue eyes - Puerto Ricans come out all different ways. But this was done mainly to educate the people. It is a revolutionary force in America today.

The Young Lords Organization is a revolutionary force moving the Latin community, the Black Panther party is moving the black community and the Patriots are beginning to move the poor white community. By us getting together and working together in this Rainbow Coalition the people that see that, that blows a lot of their racism that's been instituted by the man. The lying politicans can't use arguments that we're really racist, because if we're all working together it's got to be something more.

What we relate to is class struggle. We're not interested in struggle between races or between ethnic groups. So that's the main purpose of the Rainbow Coalition - it's for purposes of education. It's also a defense and information coalition. If anything comes up with the Panthers, the Lords and the Patriots are going to go down also, and the same way for all three groups.

When we were involved in the church offensive or some of the other things that we've been involved in, we've received help and support from the Panthers and Patriots. The Panther 21 trial is coming up December 18th and a demonstration is taking place. We'll be down there at the rally along with the Patriots.

Q. Do you study revolutionary thinkers such as the Panthers do Mao's Little Red Book?

A. A revolution has to take a sense of what was done before and then improvise on what's happening in his own situation. Obviously the Chinese revolution is not going to take place in the U.S. The U.S. is not an agricultural society, but it's a highly advanced technological society. Something new under the sun is going to be done for the Second American Revolution. However there's a lot of similarity in what's gone down in other revolutionary situations. Lenin read Marx and Mao read Lenin and Marx, and Castro at first didn't read them and then he found out that what they were saying was exactly the same thing that he was saying - then he decided to check them out. And that's what's happened with us. We read everybody - we read Nat Turner, Frederick Douglas, Betances and Campos - Puerto Rican revolutionaries. Puerto Ricans have had a long history of revolution. They fought against Spain and now they're fighting against the U.S. I hate somebody that makes the same mistake twice, expecially when there's no reason for it, because people wrote the earlier ones down. Yet, if you don't take any short cuts, with things so rough already, you're in bad shape. So we read some Mao, Marx, Lenin. We don't let that govern us, we don't put them up as gods. They're revolutionaries just as we are and I respect them for that. We're going to have to do something a little different, that's why they in turn respect us.

Q. Do you also consider Christ as a revolutionary?

A. David Kirk from Emmanus House sent us a telegram when the police rioted a week ago Sunday in the church. It read that if Christ was alive today, he would have been a Young Lord. That's true. We believe that. We also believe that if Christ came back today, they'd crucify him again.

Christ was saying a whole lot. The Bible is used as an instrument of oppression in the hands of the imperialists. They teach only the parts of the Bible that will mullify the people, keep them down, you know, turn the other cheek, be cool, be humble, slow up, wait. They don't show you the parts like when things were going bad in the temple, Christ went in and threw them out and he wasn't non-violent - he was a pretty violent cat when he had to be.

You don't go back into the days of the Old Testament when everybody was doing in everybody else - jacking everybody else up. They were fighting in the name of the Lord - a Holy War which they fought with righteous feeling. And that's why we've got Christ right up there next to Mao — he was a heavy cat.

Q. Do you include any education such as Puerto Rican history in your program?

A. We're primarily a propaganda unit, a teaching agency. At this stage of the revolutionary struggle we're educators with the true history of Puerto Rico and what it means to be Puerto Rican as our curriculum. We also expose the contradictions that exist in America and why, contrary to opinion, they're never going to make it in the system.

We have political education classes, in the community. We send our organizers out to knock on doors and with people on the street. The people on the Board of the First Spanish Methodist Church told us that we were Satan, and that if poor people wanted they could educate themselves, and they don't have to play numbers and drink beer. Their idea is that Puerto Rican people dig being poor, and that they made it so why can't everybody else make it. They think that Puerto Rican women on welfare spend their money on beer, they play the numbers and that they really dig the gutter. It took a whole lot to hold our tempers, but their sons and daughters (who were at the meeting between the Board of Trustees and the Young Lords) let them know how we felt.

Q. As it stands now, what charges have been brought against you and what action has been pursued concerning them?

A. On Sunday, December 7, 13 people were arrested--9 Young Lords and 4 supporters. Of these, 5 were hospitalized for injuries received when they were being taken out of the church by the police. The charges against those arrested were felonies--mostly riot in the 1st and 2nd degrees, felonious assault, disrupting a service, conspiracy to disrupt a service--but these have been lowered to misdemeanors. In the hearing Wednesday (Dec. 17) all the complaints had Rev. Carrazana's name on them.

BOSTON, MASS.
December 14

The Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Conference, United Church of Christ, (Congregational), has appointed a committee to serve as a liaison with the denomination's 531 parishes in dialogue regarding a recent $1 million grant to the Black Ecumenical Commission. It was believed the committee was formed to deal with dissension from two ministers and three churches who are a part of a group that have refused to participate in the funding.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
December 22

An interracial task force committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington has found that "racism pervaded the life of the Episcopal Church in the community both blatantly and insidiously." The committee said it found "overwhelming" evidence of racism in the church's missionary work, its Cathedral Parish membership, employment practices, school enrollment and attitudes of individual priests. The Committee did, however, praise the Diocesan Finance Committee for investing interest-bearing funds in Negro-owned banks.

CLEVELAND, OHIO
December 24

The Congregation of the Unitarian Society has voted for a second time in two months to give its church property to Blacks. This time the Congregation is also being threatened by a law suit and an imminent split in its membership, from a group which includes a number of blacks. In its first vote the religious organization simply voted to transfer a church building in the black community of Hough, to a black group of some 20 society members. In the second vote, the Congregation added a promise of $35,000 for the upkeep of the property for the first two years, and another $22,000 was set aside for parking lot improvements. William Mack, a black member of the dissenting group said, "This isn't the end of it. We don't feel this precludes any further legal action."

NEW YORK, N.Y.
December 27

Leaders in both the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish faith, in a number of different cities are voicing a desire to reconcile their age old differences and strive for better relationships. Theologians say the impetus for the new friendly relations came from a Vatican City document which "goes radically further than anything before," in asking Christians to recognize and acknowledge the Jewish Faith with respect. The theme of the document has been preached in cities ranging from New York City to Louisville, Ky., and Baltimore, Md. In Jackson, Miss., Roman Catholic Bishop Joseph B. Brunini has called for a united effort by all the state's Christians and Jews for a "great leap forward" to combat racial injustice.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
December 31

Some 700 young people from six Mid Western states, attending the 4th Annual Luthern Youth Congress tried to deal with religious hypocrisy. Using the slogan, "Walk It Like You Talk It," the young people, in one workshop, discussed the problems they have had because of their religious beliefs. The conferees especially noted how difficult it is, they say, to find many other young people who are deeply and sincerely religious.

BUFFALO, N.Y.
January 3

The United Synagogue Teenagers and the United Synagogue of America, the congregational arm of Conservative Judaism, at a conference in Buffalo, N.Y., developed a "package" plan to halt the tide of alienation and dissatisfaction among Jewish youth. The plan includes revisions of curriculum in Hebrew elementary and high school levels to include "Applied" Jewish Culture subjects, and the addition of "relevancy" courses at the high school level. These changes, it was felt, would serve to bring the synagogue and its spiritual leaders closer to the people.

DETROIT, MICH.
January 3

A group calling itself the Association of Black Lutheran Churchmen (ABLC), has demanded "radical reformation" of white Lutheran Churches. They said integration has not worked, so they want another approach to improving life for blacks. The demands were made of the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. "Pluralism," is the answer, an ABLC spokesman said. "We mean that black people and white people will work together under the banner of Christ but utilizing different methodologies; unity does not mean uniformity. Black people will pursue their objectives by whatever means are necessary until victory is won. We challenge them (white Lutheran Churches) to psychologically and institutionally disengage themselves from santified racism, imperialism, and economic selfishness, and take upon themselves the kind of resolutionary posture that can force the transfer of requisite countervailing power to oppressed people wherever they may be found." A spokesman for the Missouri Synod said the ABLC should submit its requests and documented budgets for consideration.

Harvard University Research Director, Dr. Stanley King, in an excerpt from his book, probes the historical characteristics of youth rebellion.

Youth in Rebellion: An Historical Perspective

by Stanley H. King, Ph.D.

The active rebelliousness of youth which seems so characteristic of this day and age is not unique. In ancient history an observer of the Egyptian scene recorded: "Our earth is degenerate * * * children no longer obey their parents."(*1*) We know that Socrates expressed concern about the young men of Athens: their long hair, their indolence, and their disdain for adult values. In more recent history there are some interesting accounts about students at Harvard College.

> In 1766, broke out a rebellion which raged for a month. Two years later "great disturbances occurred; the tutors' windows were broken with brickbats, their lives endangered, and other outrages committed.
>
> The next important rebellion occurred in 1807, when the three lower classes protested against the bad food at Commons. Without waiting for the president to investigate and correct, they indulged in disorders * * *. The troubles increased, and with them the alarm of the faculty * * *. A few days later the four classes marched out in a body from dinner, complaining of the fare * * *. The corporation met, and ordered the president to attend Commons "on Sunday morning next," adding that "in consideration of the youth of the students, and hoping that their rash and illegal conduct is rather owing to want of experience and reflection than to malignity of temper or a spirit of defiance (the corporation), are disposed to give them an opportunity to certify in writing to the president, as he shall direct, their admission of the impropriety of their conduct, their regret for it, and their determination to offend no more in this manner." Seven days were allowed for this confession to be made, but, although the time was extended, some of the students refused * * *.(*2*)

If we but alter the style of writing a bit, the words have a familiar ring. Rebellion by the young is not new.

The historical view, over centuries, does not help us appreciably in understanding rebelliousness in the "Now" generation; rather we need to use historical perspective in a somewhat different manner.

Two kinds of historical perspective are relevant, as they interact with each other: developmental and social. The first of these refers to the psychosocial progress of the individual through life stages from infancy to old age. The second is the state within the society at a particular time. Is the society stable or changing, and if the latter, how extensive is the change and of what kind? These two historical perspectives when considered together provide some clues about the meaning of rebellion.

A good deal is known about development during the life cycle, especially for the periods of childhood and adolescence. Adolescence is the greatest time of change, physically, emotionally, and socially, of any point in the life cycle, with the possible exception of infancy and early childhood.

Erik Erikson (*3*) has caught the key phrase, in labeling the major psychological task of the adolescent, as that of forming a stable identity. He must find out who he is, as separate from both his family and peers. This involves an awareness and appraisal of his skills and aptitudes, and of his location in the network of social roles that refer to work, to procreation, and to his place in society. He must come to some sense of what his life means, of what shall guide his behavior, and of what intrinsic worth he feels himself to have.

This familiar description has a universal validity through time and across societies. However, there still is room for important variation. The manner in which a sense of identity is achieved and movement made into adult roles depends on what is happening in the society, or in the social cycle. Social context has a profound influence on the kind of events that are likely to occur, on reactions that the adolescent is likely to have in the process of forming a stable identity.

The transition through adolescence is relatively smoother when certain conditions exist in society. First, there must be meaningful adult roles. Meaningful signifies a clear awareness by both adolescents and adults of what people do in a given role, the

from Drug Dependence; National Institute of Mental Health, July 1969

rewards and liabilities associated with performance of that role, and the perceived relevance of role activities to the value system and goals of the society. For example, in medieval France there was common consensus that a priest listened to confession, granted absolution, said Mass, administered the sacraments, and acted as intermediary between God and man. His role carried prestige, though it required celibacy, and his actions underscored the values that held society together. The greater the number of adult roles a youth finds meaningful in his social context, the smoother the transition through adolescence is likely to be.

Second, there must be clearly defined transition points, or social activities that signify to the individual and to the community that change in status has occurred. The anthropologists refer to such events as rites of passage. In primitive tribes, puberty rites, often marked by tests of endurance, by marking the body, by movement to a new abode, by giving of equipment, or by changing dress constitute clear designation of change in social status.

The third requirement is stability and consensus in the value system of the society. Daily activities must make sense in terms of the value system. There must be social events in which people participate that express the value system. Most importantly, the value system must provide a set of acceptable answers to the major questions asked by all men: Why am I here? what meaning is there to my life? how do I relate to other people? what place do I hold in the universe? and where am I going after death?

Historically, these conditions have most often been met in settled societies, though not necessarily in simple or primitive ones. India of a few centuries ago provided one example. The caste system limited the range of adult roles that were open. The majority of adolescents knew that their adult roles would be the same as their father's or mother's, and they know what activities would be entailed. The religious and value system decreed that these things were right and just and provided for an ordered set of relationships betwen people in different occupations and different castes. There was little freedom, or openness in the system, little opportunity for or allowance of rebellion. Although that type of rigid social structure does not appeal to many of us, it did mean that there was less likely to be adolescent turmoil and upheaval.

The system of values in this example emphasized an orientation toward the past and therefore a reliance on tradition, the importance of the social group and the submission of the individual within the group, and the importance of nature and supernatural forces over those of man. The fate of men depended on the gods and the ceremonies necessary to deal with that order of the universe.

In contrast, the transition through adolescence is more likely to be a time of crisis, upheaval, and rebellion under different social conditions. Prominent among these is social change. This occurs when there are significant shifts in political power, in the economic structure of the society, when there are important alterations in the value system, and when the social expectations for behavior in adult roles become fuzzy or confused.

The particular content of a value system, that is, the kinds of things that are emphasized, is also important. When the individual is regarded as more important, more worthwhile than the social group, there is more likelihood of crisis in adolescence. Social and personal upheaval is more apt to ensue if dissent is part of the cultural heritage, if man is regarded as able to control and alter nature rather than be subject to it, and if change and progress are considered a goal to be achieved rather than a drawback to be avoided.

When these social conditions are present, the likelihood of crisis and rebellion during adolescence is enhanced. Adult roles are not clearly perceived in terms of expected activities. At the same time, the range of roles may be beyond the adolescent's experience or knowledge. Furthermore, the multiplicity of choice may be overwhelming at a time when he unconsiciously feels the need for order and structure. Transition points, the rites of passage, receive less attention and less social endorsement at times of social change and value alteration. The lines of demarcation between the child and adult roles are less clear. Hence the adolescent may be pulled in two ways, given adult responsibilities without accompanying adult status and without sufficient social rewards.

Crisis, however, does not always lead to rebellion. We need only to refer to our knowledge of defense and coping mechanisms to spell out the potential consequences. One reaction can be regression and disintegration. This is likely to occur in psychologically vulnerable individuals when social disruption is severe. We noticed it in the United States when the plains Indian tribes were driven onto reservations and prevented from following the whole fabric of life they had known in the past.

Passive withdrawal also occurs, a condition more akin to the old phrase, "out of sight, out of mind." Here there is a resignation, a lack of effort, almost

with these roles. There is uneasiness about manipulation of the public through advertising, about impersonal and vicious competition in business. Young people see adults come home from the world of work beset by tension, tied in knots, anxious to get the martini before dinner, and wonder if the goals that push men this way are the right goals. They yearn for a sense of warmth and closeness among people, an outlet for inner creative urges, and say that adult roles must be changed to emphasize satisfactions of this kind.

Life is also being altered by the swiftness of communication and transportation. A sense of participation and immediacy of experience accompanies events of powerful emotional significance. To cite an example, a few years ago the country went through a weekend of mourning over the death of President Kennedy only to witness the killing of his alleged assassin on TV. In a situation like this the results of electronic circuitry make it possible for each of us to "be there." There is a sense of involvement, but there is also a feeling of lost privacy. Feelings are mixed. Fear that barriers to one's inner self can be stripped away for all to see may or may not be allayed by the increased sense of communication with other people who may be quite unlike ourselves. We know that this development is no passing trend, that it will increase rather than go away, and that life patterns must be developed to handle it. The adult world does not provide the answers, and the coming generation knows that it must find these new patterns.

The discussion so far has involved quite general factors that affect most of the civilized societies in the world today. Two others that are more specific to the United States are important in understanding rebellion. The first concerns changes in child-rearing practices. Beginning in the third decade of this century there was pressure from progressive educators and from some psychologists for more permissive child rearing. The basis was the belief that the child's abilities were hampered in development and expression by rigid control and that greater freedom would allow these aptitudes to develop naturally and creatively. Also, psychoanalysts had demonstrated the damaging effects of overcontrol and suppression of impulses during childhood by parents. Some hypothesized greater freedom in child rearing would prevent the genesis of nuclear-neurotic conflicts. This approach was counter to the philosophy of "spare the rod and spoil the child," and in one form or another probably affected the childhood of many young Americans.

One of the poignant notes we hear from adolescents today is that they have not had enough control, that parents have not taken a stand at appropriate times. Often they wish a father would say no; clearly, firmly, and with assurance about the reasons for no. They think adults have often been confused about child rearing and have lacked direction. Consequently they wonder if adults really care for them.

A second factor comes from the American dream. Imbued in our culture is the idea that one's station at birth is no bar to achievement of political power, wealth, or artistic and intellectual contribution to society. Many of our folk heroes came from obscurity to positions of prominence, and still continue to do so. Couple this with the fantasies and passions of adolescence, and you get what Pumpian-Mindlin (*5*) calls the "omnipotentiality of youth." "The world is your oyster," as the saying goes, opportunities are open, there are infinite potentialities. The effect of the technological revolution only serves to enhance this feeling of omnipotence.

To review for a moment the argument to this point. A sense of crisis during adolescence and even early adulthood is more likely when the surrounding society is in a state of change, when the value system, the content of roles, and meaning of activities are changing. This is true of our society right now, under the influence of rapid technological and economic advances plus the effect of certain American values and of our changes in child-rearing patterns. The immediacy of communication further enhances the feeling of change and the possibility of crisis. Not all adolescents feel a sense of crisis, nor of those who do feel it not all act defensively or destructively. We are concerned, however, about those who do have trouble and the form it takes.

A feeling of crisis is a very personal thing, much the same as the experience of illness. In an acute state attention is directed primarily toward one's own feelings, reactions, and activities with a resultant withdrawal of concern for others. It takes a number of forms. One is represented by John Murray's (*6*) concept, "narcissistic entitlement," the feeling that things are owed a person without his doing anything to earn them. In an affluent society, as in a family setting which overindulges a child's wishes, narcissistic entitlement may develop more easily and serve the fantasy of omnipotence. It arises more naturally from a tradition where there are diffuse limits in child rearing and where adult roles and responsibilities are unclear. It contains an element of desire for immediate gratification. Al-

a waiting until the storm passes, a withdrawing in upon the self as if to still the feeling of anxiety and crisis.

Rebellion is one form of active engagement with the environment and involves a mobilization of aggressive energy for outward thrust. It can easily become destructive and erupt in a blind tearing of the fabric of social order. Rage becomes the dominant theme, untempered by reason, unguided by a sense of love and concern for others. Destructive rebellion is like the severe temper tantrums of childhood.

Rebellion can also have a coping rather than a defensive quality and be constructive. Throughout the ages man has changed his environment in order to find new solutions for perceived deficiencies in the past. Though to the adult world this kind of rebellion may have radical aspects, it often contains the elements of a more viable and stronger social structure.

Few would deny that significant changes are taking place in the social structure and general fabric of life today in the United States and in other countries. These changes are based, at least in part, on technological advances which have come with ever increasing rapidity. Three major areas are affected: The production and utilization of energy; control of disease and the distribution of health services; and development of rapid communication and transportation networks. Many people have likened the situation to an explosion of knowledge, with technical advances happening so fast that social changes can hardly keep pace. Technological advances have been greater in the past 50 years than at any period in recorded history.

One major result is a shift in work roles and the meaning of work. Until recent times a great deal of energy needed to be expended on life-sustaining activities, on obtaining the simple necessities of shelter, food, and clothing. The idea of the family as an economic unit was a reality. We need only to look at the statistics about how long a man must now work to purchase a pair of shoes or food for his family for a week and compare the time with that required two generations ago to see the effect of technological change.

The coming of the affluent society also means a reorientation of the social structure to activities that are not work oriented. For example, the plan adopted by some of the steel companies and unions to provide a 3-month vacation every few years forces a review of how leisure is to be used, of the relationship of husband and wife in the family unit, and the relation of the individual to the community. At the moment we are only on the threshold of the work revolution, aware that life in the future is going to be very different but not certain how satisfactions will be derived, or by what values we will live. The coming generation is quite aware of our dilemma and of the resulting confusion about the dimensions of adult roles. They raise questions about the right kind of educational preparation for the future. They ask if we can justify the value of a classical education. They want to have a part in running the educational structure because they do not think our ideas or procedures are necessarily relevant to what lies ahead. They say that our educational procedures are at the crossroads. Within this kind of a social context there is greater likelihood that for some adolescents there will be turmoil, crisis, and the possibility of rebellion.

We might view this situation from a slightly different angle by developing an idea originally suggested by Fillmore Sanford. (*4*) During the Middle Ages, Western civilization could be characterized as the "Age of Religious Man." Life was hard, often brief, but found meaning through attention to the spirit and support through the sacraments of the church. Religion was the organizing force in life. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the focus shifted to economic activities, and for several centuries the dominant theme was the "Age of Economic Man." Political, social, and even moral activities were intimately related to economic factors. We are still in that age, but with indications that we may be moving into a new one which might be called the "Age of Psychological Man."

Sanford talked about the principle of habeas menten, the right of man to his own mind. He worried about the increasing control of the mind by subtle means, through propaganda and advertising, or more directly through drugs, and felt that a major legal concern in the future would be to safeguard the rights of man to his mind. Indirectly, he was also pointing to the fact that our inner life, that of the mind and personality, assumes an increasing share of our attention. We know much more about the relationship between mind and body than ever before, and we are beginning to develop theories about self-actualization and positive health. Others before us have thought about these things, but society did not seem ready for them.

Now there is the leisure and freedom to turn attention to mental and emotional forces. As a result, the younger generation questions the behavioral content of adult roles, and the values associated

ready characteristic of adolescence, this desire is enhanced by the sense of participation and involvement that comes from modern communications. It is no wonder that we refer to the "Now" generation.

Narcissism may take another form in crisis, that of destructive rebellion, the kind that is irrational, that seeks to destroy for the sake of destruction. Persons who react in this manner feel great frustration and alienation, a gulf between their sense of entitlement and the realities they can achieve. We will have riots and a call for anarchy, we will have complete rejection of the adult world, from those who react to a feeling of crisis in this way.

Of more immediate concern to this conference are those whose narcissism takes the form of withdrawal, or regression to the real or fantasied gratifications of earlier phases of development, including the belief in magical solutions to problems. Drugs provide one avenue for withdrawal, whether into oblivion with heroin, or the mind-blown world with LSD, or the speeded-up experience with amphetamines. A type of withdrawal also occurs with "pot," in which reaction time becomes retarded and life seems to stand still. Drugs represent one way of responding to crisis. The danger lies in abrogating the task of maturing in a rapidly changing society for which there is no blueprint providing safe guidelines into the future.

We can lose perspective easily and feel that all adolescents are moving toward personal disintegration, withdrawal, or destructive rage. It is easy to forget that the majority may be taking a more constructive path, even though it appears to us as rebellion. We may not like their dress, or customs, or manner of rebelling, or their questioning our values. The sense of security in our adult position may be threatened. Perhaps, however, a significant number of the younger generation feel a sense of urgency about the world which we do not understand fully and a conviction that social change must occur more rapidly than at any time in the past, if mankind is to survive. They could be right! They will not find the answer in drugs, for they will, in the long run, be too busy throwing their energies into confronting the world with new solutions to social and political crises we have not foreseen.

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"A significant number of the younger generation feel a sense of urgency about the world which we do not understand fully and a conviction that social change must occur more rapidly than at any time in the past, if mankind is to survive."

Famed anthropologist Margaret Mead gives her views on the youth rebellion in America, and what it all means.

Youth Revolt: the Future is Now

by Margaret Mead

Our present crisis has been variously attributed to the overwhelming rapidity of change, the collapse of the family, the decay of capitalism, the triumph of a soulless technology, and, in wholesale repudiation, to the final breakdown of the Establishment. Behind these attributions there is a more basic conflict between those for whom the present represents no more than an intensification of our existing cofigurative culture, in which peers are more than ever replacing parents as the significant models of behavior, and those who contend that we are in fact entering a totally new phase of cultural evolution.

Most commentators, in spite of their differences in viewpoint, still see the future essentially as an extension of the past. Edward Teller can still speak of the outcome of a nuclear war as a state of destruction relatively no more drastic than the ravages wrought by Genghis Khan, and historians can point out that time and again civilization has survived the crumbling of empires. Similarly, many authorities treat as no more than an extreme form of adolescent rebellion the repudiation of present and past by the dissident youth of every persuasion in every kind of society in the world.

Theorists who emphasize the parallels between past and present in their interpretations of the generation gap ignore the irreversibility of the changes that have taken place since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. This is especially striking in their handling of modern technological development, which they treat as comparable in its effects to the changes that occurred as one civilization in the past took over from another such techniques as agriculture, script, navigation, or the organization of labor and law.

One urgent priority, I believe, is to examine the nature of change in the modern world, including its speed and dimensions, so that we can better understand the distinctions that must be made between change in the past and that which is now ongoing. To do so, I make distinctions among three different kinds of culture: *post-figurative*, in which children learn primarily from their forebears; *cofigurative*, in which both children and adults learn from their peers; and *prefigurative*, in which adults learn also from their children.

Although it is possible to discuss both post-figurative and cofigurative cultures in terms of slow or rapid change without specifying the nature of the process and to compare past and present situations when the focus is kept on generation relationships and on the type of modeling through which a culture is transmitted, it is only when one specifies the nature of the process that the contrast between past and present change becomes clear.

The primary evidence that our present situation is unique, without any parallel in the past, is that the generation has grown up in a time when war did not threaten annihilation. When they are given the facts, they can understand immediately that continued pollution of the air and water and soil will soon make the planet uninhabitable and that it will be impossible to feed an indefinitely expanding world population. As members of one species in an underdeveloped world community they recognize that invidious distinctions based on race and caste are anachronisms. They insist on the vital necessity of some form of world order.

No longer bound by the simplified linear sequences dictated by the printed word, they live in a world in which events are presented to them in all their complex immediacy. In their eyes the killing of an enemy is not qualitatively different from the murder of a neighbor. They cannot reconcile our efforts to save our own children by every known means with our readiness to destroy the children of others with napalm. They know that the people of one nation alone cannot save their own children; each holds the responsibility for all others' children.

Although I have said they *know* these things, perhaps I should say that this is how they *feel*. Like the first generation born in a new country, they listen only half-comprehendingly to their parents' talk about the past. For as the children of pioneers had no access to the landscapes whose memories could still move their parents to tears, the young today cannot share their parents' responses to events that deeply moved them in the past. But this is not all that separates the young from their elders. Watching, they can see that their elders are groping, that they are managing clumsily and often unsuccessfully the tasks imposed on them by the new conditions. The young do not know what must be done, but they feel that there must be a better way and that they must find it.

Today, nowhere in the world are there elders who know what the children know, no matter how remote and simple the societies are in which the children live. In the past there were always some elders who knew more than any children in terms of their experience of having grown up within a cultural system. Today there are none. It is not only that parents are no longer guides, but that there are no guides, whether one seeks them in one's own country or abroad. There are no elders who know what those who have been reared within the last twenty years know about the world

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into which they were born.

True, in many parts of the world the parental generation still lives by a post-figurative set of values. From parents in such cultures children may learn that there have been unquestioned absolutes, and this learning may carry over into later experience as an expectation that absolute values can and should be re-established.

There are still parents who answer such child's questions as why he must go to bed, or eat his vegetables, or learn to read with simple assertions: Because it is *right* to do so, because *God* says so, or because *I* say so. These parents are preparing the way for the re-establishment of post-figurative elements in the culture. But these elements will be far more rigid and intractable than in the past because they must be defended in a world in which conflicting points of view, rather than orthodoxies, are prevalent.

Most parents, however, are too uncertain to assert old dogmatisms. They do not know how to teach these children who are so different from what they themselves once were, and most children are unable to learn from parents and elders they will never resemble. In the past, in the United States, children of immigrant parents pleaded with them not to speak their foreign language in public and not to wear their outlandish foreign clothes. They knew the burning shame of being, at the same time, unable to repudiate their parents and unable to accept simply and naturally their way of speaking and doing things. But in time they learned to find new teachers as guides, to model their behavior on that of more adapted age mates, and to slip in, unnoticed, among a group whose parents were more bearable.

Today, the dissident young discover very rapidly that this solution is no longer possible. The breach between themselves and their parents also exists between their friends and their friends' parents and between their friends and their teachers.

These young dissidents realize the critical need for immediate world action on problems that affect the whole world. What they want is, in some way, to begin all over again. They are ready to make way for something new by a kind of social bulldozing—like the bulldozing in which every tree and feature of the landscape is destroyed to make way for a new community. Awareness of the reality of the crisis (which is, in fact, perceived most accurately not by the young, but by their discerning and prophetic elders) and the sense the young have that their elders do not understand the modern world, because they do not understand their children, has produced a kind of rebellion in which planned reformation of the present system is almost inconceivable.

Nevertheless, those who have no power also have no routes to power except through those against whom they are rebelling. In the end, it was men who gave the vote to women; and it will be the House of Lords that votes to abolish the House of Lords—as also, in the final analysis, nations will act to limit national sovereignty. Effective, rapid evolutionary change, in which no one is guillotined or forced into exile, depends on the cooperation of a large number of those in power with the dispossessed who are seeking power.

These, in brief, are the conditions of our time. These are the two generations—pioneers in a new era and their children–who have as yet to find a way of communicating about the world in which both live, though their perceptions of it are so different. No one knows what the next steps should be. Recognizing that this is so is, I submit, the beginning of an answer.

I believe we are on the verge of developing a new kind of culture, one that is as much a departure in style from cofigurative cultures as the institutionalization of cofiguration in orderly—and disorderly—change was a departure from the post-figurative style. I call this new style "prefigurative," because in this new culture it will be the unborn child, already conceived but still in the womb—not the parent and grandparent—that represents what is to come. This is a child whose sex and appearance and capabilities are unknown, but who will need imaginative, innovative, and dedicated adult care far beyond any we give today.

No one can know in advance what the child will become—how swift his limbs will be, what will delight his eye, whether his tempo will be fast or slow. No one can know how his mind will work—whether he will learn best from sight or sound or touch or movement. But knowing what we do not know and cannot predict, we can construct an environment in which a child, still unknown, can be safe and can grow and discover himself and the world.

Love and trust, based on dependency and answering care, made it possible for the individual who had been reared in one culture to move into another, transforming, without destroying, his earlier learning. It is seldom the first generation of voluntary immigrants and pioneers who cannot meet the demands of a new environment. Their previous learning carries them through. But unless they embody what is new post-figuratively, they cannot pass on to their children what they had acquired through their own early training—the ability to learn from others the things their parents could not teach them.

Parents, in a world where there are no more knowledgeable others to whom they can commit the children they themselves cannot teach, feel uncertain and helpless. Still believing that there should be answers, parents ask how they can tell their children what is right. So some try to solve the problem by advising their children, very vaguely, that they will have to figure it out for themselves. And some parents ask what the others are doing. But this resource of a cofigurative culture is becoming meaningless to parents who feel that the "others" —their children's age mates—are moving in ways that are unsafe for their own children to emulate, and who find that they do not understand what their children figure out for themselves.

It is the adults who still believe that there is a safe and socially approved road to a kind of life they have not experienced who react with the greatest anger and bitterness to the discovery that what they had hoped for no longer exists for their children. These are the parents, the trustees, the legislators, the columnists and commentators who denounce most vocally what is happening in schools and colleges and universities in which they had placed their hopes for their children.

Today, as we gain a better understanding of the circular processes through which culture is developed and transmitted, we recognize that man's most human characteristic is not his ability to learn, which he shares with many other species, but his ability to teach and store what others have developed and taught him. In the past men relied on the least elaborate part of the circular system—the dependent learning by children—for continuity of transmission and for the embodiment of the new. Now, with our greater understanding of the process, we must cultivate the most flexible and complex part of the system: the behavior of adults. We must, in fact, teach ourselves how to alter adult behavior; we must create new models

for adults who can teach their children not what to learn, but how to learn, and not what they should be committed to, but the value of commitment.

In doing this we must recognize explicitly that the paths by which we came into the present can never be traversed again. The past is the road by which we have arrived where we are. Older forms of culture have provided us with the knowledge, techniques, and tools necessary for our contemporary civilization.

The freeing of men's imagination from the past depends on the development of a new kind of communication with those who are most deeply involved with the future—the young who were born in the new world. In the past, in cofigurational cultures, the elders were gradually cut off from limiting the future of their children. Now the development of prefigurational cultures will depend on the existence of a continuing dialogue in which the young, free to act on their own initiative, can lead their elders in the direction of the unknown. Then the older generation will have access to the new experiential knowledge, without which no meaningful plans can be made. It is only with the direct participation of the young, who have that knowledge, that we can build a viable future.

Instead of directing their rebellion toward the retrieval of a grandparental utopian dream, as the Maoists seem to be doing with the young activists in China, we must learn together with the young how to take the next steps. Out of their new knowledge—new to the world and new to us—must come the questions to those who are already equipped by education and experience to search for answers. The children, the young, must ask these questions that we would never think to ask, but enough trust must be re-established so that the elders will be permitted to work with them on the answers.

I feel that we can change into a prefigurative culture, consciously, delightedly, and industriously, rearing unknown children for an unknown world. But to do it we must relocate the future.

Here we can take a cue from the young who seem to want instant utopias. They say the future is now. This seems unreasonable and impetuous, and in some of the demands they make it is unrealizable in concrete detail; but here again, I think, they give us the way to reshape our thinking. We must place the future, like the unborn child in the womb of a woman, within a community of men, women, and children, among us, already here, already to be nourished and succored and protected, already in need of things for which, if they are not prepared before it is born, it will be too late. So, as the young say, the future is now.

"It is the adults who still believe that there is a soft and socially approved road to a kind of life they have not experienced who react with the greatest anger and bitterness to the discovery that what they had hoped for no longer exists for their children."

The Black Liberation Movement in America is critically analyzed in this socialist article, which also indicates the course the movement will take in the future.

Which Way for Black Liberation?

1969 has seen the opportunities for the struggle for black liberation mushroom. Sentiment for black control of the black community has expanded, encompassing not just thousands, but millions of Afro-Americans. Mass struggles for community control, such as the struggle in New York for control of Harlem Hospital, have broken out. Struggles of black students for open admission, for black studies, for a black university at universities like Southern University, Brandeis, New York's City College, and San Francisco State, have shaken this country. Black caucuses within the unions have spread. Thousands of blacks have taken to the streets to protest racist hiring in the construction industry in Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities.

Despite the fact that the current stage of the black struggle offers unprecedented opportunities for building a massive organized movement for black liberation, little progress has been made in that direction. No significant organization exists to tie together the different sectors of the black community and give a consistent direction in struggle. Those mass organizations that do exist are largely controlled by those who place their faith in the continuation of this system and the two capitalist parties. In short, no organized movement exists to translate the sentiment for black control of the community into conscious action.

The lack of an organized militant leadership gives an advantage to conservative and reformist elements within the community who are well organized, especially because of their ties with the capitalist class and its institutions—SCLC, the Urban League, the Democratic Party, and black capitalists. It enables them to take the leadership of many of the broader struggles that arise. They are able to capitalize on the illusions that exist within the black community to keep the struggle away from a political confrontation with the capitalist system. Instead of independent struggle, support to Negroes or white liberals in the Democratic Party, black capitalism, poverty programs, etc., are stressed as the way out for the black community.

This crisis in the leadership of Afro-America dulls and disperses the struggle. Without organized and militant leadership to draw the black movement together, actions within various sectors of the community are often isolated from each other. Many look at students, workers, or community struggles in isolation from one another because no organization exists that can coordinate them in militant action.

The community sees no alternative to the reformists which can give it confidence in struggle. As a whole, our struggle develops inconsistently with erratic fits and starts and ups and downs. Broad and massive actions develop around individual struggles, only to dissipate immediately after each particular struggle. What is needed is a movement that is able to draw together the whole Afro-American nation for a long-term struggle.

Perhaps a crucial component in this crisis in the black struggle is the isolation of the revolutionary nationalists from the masses of the community. Revolutionary nationalists are those who understand that the only long-term solution for the black struggle lies in destroying the capitalist system. It is from this quarter that an effective opposition to the capitalists and Toms must come. For the Afro-American struggle to be successful, it is necessary to close the gap in consciousness between the revolutionists who have a long-term perspective and the great bulk of the community which sees actions chiefly around immediate issues such as jobs, the schools, police brutality.

Yet it is reformist organizations such as SCLC that have been in the leadership of community struggles such as the Chicago construction actions. The militant struggle for control of schools in New York was diverted into reliance on liberal politicians in the state legislature. Only among black students do the revolutionary nationalists have a firm base.

This crisis within the black liberation movement poses several concrete tasks: 1) to build an organized movement that can tie together and give direction to the struggle for black control of the community, 2) to build this movement as a serious alternative to conservative leaderships within the community, 3) to do this with the perspective of building a revolutionary movement to settle accounts with the capitalist oppressors of the black community.

To meet these tasks it is necessary for revolutionary blacks to initiate and participate in mass struggles and also to build a massive black political party to give a central direction to these struggles. For it is only through the conscious participation of revolutionary blacks in active struggle that the black community will gain a revolutionary perspective. We can see this by the role that the black student struggles of the past year have played in making the students the most militant and best organized sector of the community. We must extend the type of struggle that

from Young Socialist, December, 1969

has rocked the campus into the community.

Many feel that participating in struggles whose demands are not consciously revolutionary but are for partial demands, or reforms such as more jobs in the construction trades, or whose tactics are not "revolutionary," such as election campaigns or mass demonstrations, does not further the revolutionary cause, but is simply reformist. Others reject the importance of such participation because they feel that only massive repression will revolutionize the black community. Still others reject the need to organize the masses around partial demands because they feel that we are already in a revolutionary period and that the central task is organizing for armed struggle.

It is incorrect for revolutionaries not to struggle for partial demands or reforms because such a refusal sentences the revolutionists to isolation from those who have not yet become revolutionists.

This abdication by the revolutionists only insures reformist dominance and defeat for the struggle. All struggles in a prerevolutionary period start on a nonrevolutionary stage of consciousness. It is by participating in partial struggles for reforms and struggling for them in a revolutionary fashion—demanding mass actions, no reliance on white liberal or black Tom politicians, calling for the permanent organization of the community to fight until black control has been won—that the masses of the community will be won to revolutionary nationalism.

To rely on repression or weakness of the capitalists to revolutionize the community and to abstain from struggles leaves the community prey to the reformists. To deny the possibility of leading the community to revolutionary consciousness by struggle against their oppression is to deny the reality of that oppression. If this is denied for a period such as this when the movement is growing and open, it will be doubly true during a repression. In times of repression, it is harder, not easier to be a revolutionary. Those who are initially radicalized by such a repression will not feel ready to take action unless there is a strong movement to back them up.

The task of revolutionary blacks is to enter the mass struggles of the community to gain a firm base to counter the repressive assaults of the imperialists. Revolutionary nationalists cannot afford to be isolated from the community, since it will be the revolutionists, not the non-politicized, who will be the targets of repression.

What role can a black political party play as part of such a strategy to win the allegiance of the black community?

A black party can play the role of central organizer of the black struggle, a center to coordinate action among the different sectors of the community. It would exist as the organized alternative to reformist leaders within the black community and to white liberals.

Its program should be based on struggles which can be best formulated around the demand "black control of the black community." Black control would mean ending the control of the white capitalist rulers over the lives of black people: over the schools, places of business, factories, and other institutions which are used to exploit and oppress Afro-Americans. This will ultimately lead to a revolutionary confrontation with the imperialist rulers of the U. S. The demand is a reflection of the upsurge of struggle going on in the schools, on the jobs and in the streets of the black community.

It is important for such a black party to adopt a transitional strategy. That is, a strategy that can lead the struggle from its current level to a revolutionary one. Through black control of the black community, a black party can pose a concrete alternative to the racist manipulation of the community, a positive direction for the struggle. And it can do so in a way that will lead to a revolutionary confrontation with the capitalist rulers.

One of the chief tasks of a black party would be to destroy the base of the Republicans and Democrats within the black community and isolate Negro politicians who attempt to divert the black struggle into their own pockets. This is an important task because the mass of blacks still support Republican and Democratic candidates.

However, a black party would not be primarily centered around electoral action. Rather, it would utilize electoral action to organize and mobilize the community for other forms of action. As an independent organization, an expression of the struggle of the community, it would urge the community to rely on direct action. It would lead mass struggles in the community through demonstrations, boycotts, strikes and armed self-defense. It would seek to be the permanently organized embodiment of the black struggle, intervening on all levels.

The Black Panther Party's emergence and decline has made the question of how a black party should function more concrete to many. Unfortunately, despite its popularization of the idea of a black party, its failure to have a mass approach has led to its political and organizational decline.

The Panther Party's ten point program was an important contribution to the black struggle as an example of the kind of demands around which to intervene in community struggles. The central problem of the Panthers was their failure to apply this program in action.

Instead of reaching out to the broadest masses of the community around these demands, the Panthers concentrated on pseudorevolutionary Maoist rhetoric. Waving the little red book, or calling this the year of the gun relates little to the consciousness of the average black who is willing to struggle. What he needs is concrete suggestions and demands around the questions of black control of the schools, ending police brutality, better jobs.

By refusing to build a party around these needs, the Panthers isolated themselves from the thousands looking for a serious action leadership, not pseudorevolutionary phrasemongering. Due to their incorrect political perspective, they were at various times either unable or unwilling to intervene in the mass struggle. The Panthers have played little or no role in such mass struggles as the San Francisco State Strike or the New York struggle for community control of the schools, even though with their forces they could have created a more dynamic leadership for these struggles. They haven't seriously intervened in electoral campaigns to challenge the Republican and Democratic grip on the black community.

To be effective, a black political party must put itself forward as a serious leadership for the struggles of the commun-

ity, the students and workers. This means that it cannot afford to waste its time with rhetoric about "offing the pigs," "fascism," or Mao. Such rhetoric only isolates the vanguard of the struggle and sets it up for repression. The way to fight the kind of repression that the Panthers face is for the black liberation movement to build a firm base within the community through playing a more active part in the struggle for community control.

While many black students, and figures such as Phil Hutchings of SNCC and Herman Ferguson of the Republic of New Africa support the construction of a black party, the question arises as to how it will be done. It is obviously not enough simply to propagandize about a black party. Such a strategy would seem sectarian and ineffectual in and of itself.

The chief way to make such a party a reality will be to build it through action. By doing so a political base will be made and the need for such a party will be made more concrete.

It is in the process of actions that people will recognize the need for such a party. The fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are tied to oppression of the community becomes abundantly clear as the two parties are faced with concrete explosions in the community. The lack of an ongoing mass organization to coordinate and continue the struggle and to organize those who have been newly radicalized becomes more apparent as people are mobilized in action. Mass actions provide the clearest example of the kind of reliance on independent black power that would be the base for a black party.

Black Marxists in the YSA are trying to carry out this perspective by building struggles on the campuses around the need for black studies such as at City College of New York and in Berkeley's TWLF strike, armed with the perspective for a black party.

Organizing the community against the war provides a great opportunity for mobilizing and organizing the community. Sentiment against the war within the community is almost universal, but it has not been translated into action. In this situation, organizing the community against the war offers a threefold advantage: 1) to organize both black students and the black community, 2) to provide a base for organizing a black political party, and 3) to aid the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination and defeat the principal enemy of black America — U. S. imperialism.

The November 14 student strike and November 15 demonstrations witnessed an increase in black participation in the antiwar movement.

The YSA has played a leading role in this by intervening in the black student movement and Third World Solidarity Committees to build a mass black movement and to popularize the need for a black party.

The building of the revolutionary Marxist movement is also vital to resolving the crisis within the black liberation movement. It is possible to draw the fullest lessons of the struggle for black self-determination and the rest of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge only on the basis of Marxism, which is nothing but the combined experience of the revolutionary struggles of the past 100 years. Black Marxists have been in the lead in calling for a black party and relating it to the development of the struggle.

At the Young Socialist National Convention in Minneapolis this month, black Marxist youth from across the country will gather to discuss a revolutionary strategy for solving the crisis in the black struggle.

"The lack of ongoing mass organization to coordinate and continue the struggle and to organize those who have been newly radicalized becomes more apparent as people are mobilized for action."

A Chicago educator who has been an observer of student rebellion for some time, looks at the history of student protest, and predicts what the future holds in the area of student dissent.

Campus Unrest... More to Come?

by Wm. C. Rensick

The quiet summer on college campuses raised high hopes that campus life had returned to "normal." But underneath the hope was an uncomfortable feeling that we would be making a serious error to think the turmoil was over. Instead, there may be repeat performances with a new style and more sophistication.

The lull between rounds gives us a chance not only to ask, "What happened?", but to try to understand *why*. What can stop it from happening again? Given the same set of circumstances, would we have done anything differently? Although we can never know what would happen "if," we can retrace what happened "when."

Although no two campus demonstrations were exactly alike, as subsequent analyses have shown, there were enough similarities between them to make comparisons . . . to raise general questions . . . and form some tentative generalizations. Have we learned anything from these demonstrations? Has anything really changed since the earlier confrontations? Has anything been resolved by either students or colleges . . . or both?

Many of the questions being asked are as much a mixture of wishful thinking and admonishment as they are a quest for information:

- Will the large numbers of students who participated in campus disruption realize the seriousness of their actions? Will they realize that the means being used may be more damaging and outweigh the ends and reforms they seek?
- Will the student followers wake up to what their militant leaders really want?
- Will the student have learned that merely upsetting things doesn't mean that justice has been meted out? That attacking the police as a visible substitute for their rebelliousness against the "System" or society will not resolve their problems?

Inherent in questions such as these is a value judgment supporting the point of view of the questioner. That the judgment may be valid is beside the point. Information-seeking questions posed to young people need to be just that . . . *information-seeking questions*. Judgments are better made when the evidence, unclouded by emotion from either side, is in.

■ What Have We Learned?

We have learned a great deal about militant students who are also indentified as activists, extremists or radicals. As a group they are intelligent; are from liberal, middle-class homes; and are generally interested in the humanities and social studies, in contrast to those students who lean towards the engineering and science fields. They are *not* Communist-inspired or members of an international ring. They do not agree among themselves as to ends or means. They are different from one another (as all students are different), despite the tendency of outsiders to lump all college students into a single category and describe them as if they all were alike.

The militants represent a small group on campus, but they attract others to them in their protests against the college and the System. They get unwitting assists from others . . . college officials who help galvanize student ranks against the colleges by calling in the police, and the police themselves, who represent a direct, visible means for attacking the "Establishment." Beyond the rhetoric of those who speak there are deeper issues . . . an attack on the System itself.

Most militants are skeptical about the capacity of the democratic process to effect change. In fact, society is beyond the state of being mended by social reforms; it is "too rotten." Since those in power will not willingly relinquish their authority, some militants feel it must be wrested from them by force, threats of disruption, confrontation tactics, and even violence. They believe that only by direct action can they short-cut the democratic process.

Dr. Bruno Bettleheim, one of the more respected critics of campus militants, describes some of the special traits among the militants he has known. He found that . . .

> . . . their intellectual abilities were developed very highly at much too early an age, but at the expense of their emotional development.
>
> . . . they want to destroy the universities because they do not want to be students.
>
> . . . they want action *now*, not preparation for action later.
>
> . . . they reject knowledge as a precondition of any meaningful activity.
>
> . . . they show contempt for free speech and free thought.

■ Why Students Follow the Militants

For some people, the mere fact of location in the generation-gap seems enough to decide the issues, but this is a gross over-simplification. Thoughtful people, of any age, need to understand the nature of the "revolution" that large numbers of college students are now experiencing.

This revolution has at least two separate but related aspects. Students today want to be heard, to be recognized, to be citizens of a community where they count . . . not merely as numbers in crowded classrooms and dormitories, but as individuals. They seek meaningful relationships, greater self-awareness and self-development. Corollary to this is the rejection of Establishment values, such as status seeking, conformity, achievement that sidesteps personal or social consequences, and what they consider to be the repressive effects of Puritanical ethics and mores.

Today's students make demands of all sorts, ranging from demands for better food or later dormitory hours to a voice in deciding curricula, hiring

from Police Report, Winter 1969/70

and firing faculty, or not permitting the Armed Forces to recruit on campus. Many responsible persons believe that the increasing unrest reflects a deep crisis in all democratic institutions; others feel that the campus rebels are the spoiled products of an affluent society, or, simply, rabble-rousing "creeps."

Although the militant students are only a small minority on most campuses, they do offer the machinery for expressing the unrest and dissatisfaction felt by the as-yet uncommitted students. Demonstrations are contagious; students on the sidelines often are drawn into the action. Some of them report that these group activities combine a sense of heroism, success, and a feeling of belonging and unity not afforded by any other campus activities.

■ New Confrontation Tactics

During past campus demonstrations, the colleges were generally on the defensive; they were poorly prepared and reacted — some say overreacted — to what the militants started. The students planned all the moves, including informing and preparing the communications media as to what to expect. They could count on the college officials to unify the students and to gain additional adherents for their ranks by calling up the police. They were prepared to "show and tell" all, concerning the prevalence of violent police action and dehumanizing conditions on the campus. They stirred up resentment, even hatred, toward the colleges . . . a tactic well-designed to demonstrate how ineffective and "rotten" the institution is.

The colleges are now aware that they must have preparations of their own. Even though students take the initiative, the direction of their moves has to be anticipated. Some colleges have already delegated officials to assume responsibility for planning countertactics. Raymond Momboisse, deputy attorney general in California and a well-known expert on riot control, lists, in *College and University*, some of the major points:

1. The need for the college to assume responsibility, preferably by officials that students know and trust.

2. The importance of planning . . . through meetings dealing with such questions as calling in the police, type of force to be used, and forewarning the students. Regular conferences with law enforcement agencies should be held. The college should know in advance what is considered drastic action on the part of students to warrant interference with actions of their own.

3. Flexibility, understanding and tolerance should be uppermost throughout the demonstrations. Distinctions should be made between legitimate requests and those far afield. The college must not cave in under threats or non-negotiable demands. To under-react or over-react may lead to dire consequences.

4. Initial display of force should be considered an important strategy. The critical decision is not whether counter-force should be shown, but when and how much. Simulations should be practical and "practice runs" made systematically.

5. The college should have a bag of surprises and dramatic announcements of its own. As soon as any advanced knowledge of what the students contemplate is discovered, the college must act.

6. Non-committed students should not be given opportunities to join with the protestors by dismissing classes and closing the college.

7. The channels of authority should be known by the student body and spelled out for them. Rules, regulations and penalties for violations should be both fair and consistent.

All in all, the colleges, in conjunction with law enforcement agencies; must not wait until the protestations are in process to make decisions and take appropriate action. The program should be *preventive* and not primarily responsive.

■ What We Can Expect

1. From the militants: Protestations, crises and demands will continue and perhaps grow more intense than formerly. The militants and their followers are not ready to write off their struggle for "true democracy" and self-determination. The "new" generation of college students will continue to see themselves as citizens of the college community. The impact of the black militants on campus is just beginning to be felt, and there should be increased pressures from their corner.

2. From the colleges: To date there has been a great deal of footdragging. Most colleges are not ready to cancel out immediately their remunerative government contracts. Many colleges are not in a position to eliminate their Boards of Trustees, nor do they wish to revamp the arrangement even if they could. Nor are all colleges willing to arbitrate with militant students about admitting certain minority group students unconditionally; or taking a firm stand against Vietnam; or giving the *coup de grace* to *in loco parentis*. They may wish that the disturbances would run out, but such wishful thinking appears unlikely to occur.

Some basic and fundamental changes *are* taking place on various campuses: an open-door between students and college officials; participation of students on decision-making committees affecting curricula, choice of faculty, school regulations; and so on. Such changes, however, are *not* the general pattern. Thus, the "revolution" by students on basic assumptions and values will not diminish and, if anything, should become more intense.

3. From the community: Many persons in the community, we have noted, still lump all college students as if they are all alike. They are "turned off" by their shaggy appearance, their unprecedented demands, their unconventional behavior. College students, as a group, have become unpopular, and no matter what they do or say, have aroused community hostility.

"Law and Order" has become the issue of the day. It is preached by some college professors, by governors and legislators, and acclaimed as a basic need by parents and others. The conservative forces are not ready to yield; they are not ready to share their power just to satisfy a minority of radicals on campus. Yet, there is evidence that the dissonances are not getting resolved; they are actually getting worse. Outside the campus there has been increased racism within the Armed Forces, a widening gap and polarization between blacks and whites (especially in the cities), increasing racism and militancy among high school students, and other aggravating incidents pointing to increased tensions.

Most of the same problems and issues which initiated campus unrest remain intact. In addition, the "backlash" reaction should gather momentum and will have to be dealt with equally with the militant threat. The "New Left" will have to vie, this time, with the "New Right," to win over the uncommitted majority on campus. Thus, we should experience new demands and counter demands, new interruptions, new protests and new crises. The college campus will not remain peaceful for long. No one imagined, prior to 1968, what would happen a short time later. It would have seemed unbelievable at the time. It is difficult at this time to imagine the extent of the revolt and violence, both right or left, that may take place during the coming year. The results may seem unbelievable to us a few years hence.

Revolutionary Tom Hayden, gives some frank and candid testimony before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and the House Un-American Activities Committee on rebellion in America.

Old Voices and New Voices

If the entire transcript of the Conspiracy trial were over to be published and put into the hands of the people, it would provide a high point in the growing history of the American Revolution Number Two. The transcript would reveal, in the cartoon caricatures of Judge Hoffman and his prosecuting attorneys, an unambiguous prognosis of America. These government machines cannot speak -- the record shows it -- without revealing the extent of their ill health.* They cannot keep their disease hidden from the public or even from the jury. They cannot hide the fact that they are vile, corrupt, and embarrassingly shabby human beings -- under strict orders and acting in the line of business. They are the inarticulate voices of the great cancerous demon, Amerika.

That document of the Chicago Conspiracy trial has not yet been published, but another document demonstrating the same phenomenon has been. Under the accurate title "Rebellion and Repression" (as much an R&R as Reading and 'Rithmetic) you can find 200 pages of testimony by Tom Hayden before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Transcribed before the Conspiracy Trial commenced, the hearings deal with much of the same material, the Chicago demonstrations at the time of the Demo-

from Liberation News Service, January 3, 1970

cratic national convention, that infamous summer, 1968.

The book is one of those rare overheard dramas in history that needs no fiction or editorializing to give it credence. Here the voices of two ages, qualitatively distinct, are being juxtaposed, and the subject matter is revolution. The old voice is pompous, insecure, and bogged down, a voice of rote, blind, deaf and often dumb to the new voice, which is patient, calm, human and persistent, the voice of struggle. In the case of Hayden, the voice is also one of an educator.

"The problem...was" (Hayden writes in the introduction) "to use their own forum to ridicule their authority, defy their stereotypes, and present a meaningful case to the American people." Hayden is not intimidated. His approach to the questions is to answer them. He seems to have nothing to hide, a situation so dramatic that even HUAC is somewhat abashed by it.

The questions of the investigators are laboriously silly; that is because their assumptions are all wrong. They want to prove Hanoi sponsors and directs the anti-war movement. They want to prove that all movement participants, but especially the "ringleaders" predictably advocate anarchy and violence. They want to prove that these same movement "leaders" nob-nob with members of the Communist Party and are the dupers of Youth.

They seem to have no perspective at all in a time when this country is being exposed furiously and with purpose on many fronts. HUAC has only the racists' and the oppressors' understanding of these times. They don't understand international solidarity at all. We could make a big joke out of them if the subject at stake

weren't the future of a movement, and what's going to be coming down from people as evil as they are.

The reader identifies with Hayden when he corrects the investigators' complacent ignorance over and over. It's easy to feel beautiful and even victorious with Hayden when we see how strong and how healthy the new voice is alongside the old diseased sounds. That's because we are identifying with the side that has to win -- our side. But the dialogue also reveals the history that's really going on. Close on the heels of our rebellion, repression.

In his introduction, Hayden emphasizes that for our movement "the present level of rebellion and repression requires several new points of departure":

1) We must emphasize that the government is taking political prisoners, and reject the ruler's definition that we are "lawbreakers." (Throughout his testimony, Hayden creates a new definition of moral legality.)

2) We have to take care of our political prisoners, support them, not let them face jail alone.

3) We need to expand our struggle to include a total attack on the courts, just another rigged apparatus that is passed of as "open and impartial."

4) We must take our issues over and over to the public. The people are the jury.

5) We must become more international, working together with others who are fighting American capitalists and militarists, for the dual purpose of fighting repression and making total change.

6) We should stand on the right to self-defense and revolution as protected by the Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence. We

should not let the rulers dishonor these fundamental rights by persecuting us.

7) We must combine our separate movements into a united revolutionary front to combat and survive repression, and to develop a common program for revolutionary change. We have to give up any illusions about "peaceful" or "legal" methods of change working in the long (or even the short) run. Repression cannot be avoided.

To give you an idea of the kind of dialogue you'll find in this book, here are some examples:

CONLEY [special counsel to the House Un-American Activities Committee]: Now, Mr. Hayden, Mr. [Rennie] Davis worked with you in the Chicago office, did he not?

HAYDEN: He primarily ran the office.

CONLEY: Did you consider him your boss?

HAYDEN: No. He was my brother.

* * *

WATSON (R.-S.C.): Mr. Chairman, since we have interrupted the continuity of Counsel's questions, did I understand you earlier to say that you make no secret of the fact that you are non-violent?

HAYDEN: I am not non-violent, is what I said.

WATSON: You are not non-violent. Now am I to construe, then, you believe in violence?

HAYDEN: No more than you do. Probably less than you do.

WATSON: Is that right? Now one further...

HAYDEN: Especially given your political background in South Carolina. I believe that to be the case.

* * *

WATSON: But you never intended to cause violence at all?

HAYDEN: Absolutely not.

WATSON: Well, I assumed that you had to make a little preparation.

HAYDEN: What preparations?

WATSON: Having those bags of urine, and the sticks and the razor blades and the stones and the nails in the golf balls, and so forth.

HAYDEN: That is quite a joke.

WATSON: In other words, your position is you deny that any of these things were there or used by the demonstrators?

HAYDEN: No, I do not deny that.

WATSON: Thank you. That's all.

HAYDEN: But I deny that preparations were made.

WATSON: Do you allege that these things were used by the police then?

HAYDEN: You mean the tear gas and the Mace?

WATSON: Oh, no, the bags of urine and golf balls.

HAYDEN: Would you rather be hit by a bag of urine or by Mace? Let's get first things first. Even if there were bags of urine, and I didn't see any, Mr. Watson -- I didn't see any -- I would still rather be hit by a bag of urine than be hit by Mace. That may be because you have never been hit by Mace, you have never been hit by your own cattle prods in South Carolina.

CONLEY: Now, Mr. Hayden, referring back to your document "Movement Campaign, 1968 -- An Election Year Offensive," did you describe this document as follows: "This paper proposes an election year campaign against a political system that has brought the U.S. into a crisis of war, racism and social disintegration. We outline a possible strategy for this campaign"?

HAYDEN: I notice that your hand is shaking as you read those stated purposes.

ICHORD (D.-Mich.). That is not being responsive to the question, Mr. Hayden.

HAYDEN: I think Rennie wrote that. It is on the first page. It is kind of a description of what is inside. This is just a little taste of what is to come, you know. It is just a cover.

* *

Rebellion and Repression is also just a taste of what's to come. Hayden to HUAC:

"If you think that you have had militant people before you in these hearings, you have yet to see what the seven- and eight-year-olds are going to bring you over the next five or ten years. You have taught them very well to have no respect for your authority, by what has happened in the city of Chicago. And that is a victory in the sense that committees like yourselves are now through. You exist only formally; you exist officially, but you have lost all authority, and when a group of people who have power lose their authority, then they have lost. You have lost, period."

The new voice is very strong. We're going to have to take responsibility for American history as it is being written -- and to be ready to make history -- because this is the time.

Business Activities

PEPSI COLA METROPOLITAN BOTTLING CO.

Utilizing local black-oriented radio and newspapers, the company will run an advertising campaign designed to promote 24 small businesses operated by blacks throughout Metropolitan New York. Howard Sanders Advertising, a black-owned agency, conceived of the idea. The bottling company will put $250,000 during a 48-week period behind the effort. The businesses, 18 of which have already been chosen, are being selected by a citizens committee formed with the help of the Coalition Venture Corporation, part of the New York Urban Coalition.

DuPAGE COUNTY, ILL.

Seven industrial employers in DuPage County, a Chicago suburban area, have issued policy statements supporting open housing and pledging company efforts to assist minority employees to find housing near job locations. The companies are also being asked to inform local real estate boards of their action.

The cooperating employers are Argonne National Laboratory, Commonwealth Edison, Illinois Bell Telephone, Northern Illinois Gas Co., the Meyercord Co., and National Accelerator Laboratory and Western Electric.

CHICAGO RAILROADS

The Board for Fundamental Education (BFE), a nonprofit organization based in Indianapolis, is running a free education program for employees of seven Chicago railroads. Funded by a million-dollar grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, BFE will provide classes in four categories:

1. first to fourth grade;
2. fourth to eighth grade;
3. special math and/or English;
4. general education, leading to a possible high school diploma.

BFE will provide the teachers and materials and the railroads will supply the classroom space. Railroads participating are the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Chesapeake and Ohio-Baltimore and Ohio System; Belt Railway of Chicago; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy; Illinois Central; Indiana Harbor Belt, and Penn Central.

Three business executives give divided views on how deeply business should commit itself in solving the nation's social and urban ills.

Just What is the Business of Business?

■ As a business manager would you like to give your opinion on some difficult, but vital questions?

Here they are: Should business make an effort to solve the nation's social and urban ills? If it does, can it succeed? Should it stay out unless it can turn a buck? Must it go in, whether it can turn a buck or not?

Right now, industrial managers are divided in their view of how deeply business should get committed in this direction.

Says Frederick J. Close, chairman of the board, Aluminum Co. of America, "There just isn't any place to hide. Or much time to lose. . . . The days are over, if they ever existed, when minding his own business could suffice as the businessman's supreme and sole contribution to society.

"It's no longer simply good citizenship to give a damn and get involved. It's good business. . . .

"As a return on your investment, I can assure your companies a secure place in that life. As profit you'll earn the gratitude of mankind, as well as a dynamic economy in which your company can prosper in the future.

"We may never find a better business proposition than that. And if we don't accept it, our businesses may not be around for another to come along."

National Steel Corp. president George A. Stinson doesn't see it that strongly.

"The fellow who lets the fires at home go out while he's out saving the world is doing no one a service," he says. Emphasis on social responsibility should not lead business executives to forget their main job is running companies in an effective, profitable manner, he feels.

This is not a question of disregarding the general well-being, Mr. Stinson adds.

The nation's supply of goods and services depends on how well assets are managed. The businessman can make his greatest contribution by being a good business man, the steel executive concludes.

Joseph F. Miller, executive vice president of the National Electrical Manufacturers Assn., is somewhere in the middle of these two views. He sees a danger that business could develop a case of schizophrenia over the issue.

"Large groups are questioning the whole profit system," he says.

"Public opinion is gradually reaching a point where it feels that industry should set up a dual system of objectives: One to make money; and two, to resolve social problems. ■

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